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# CURRENT HISTORY

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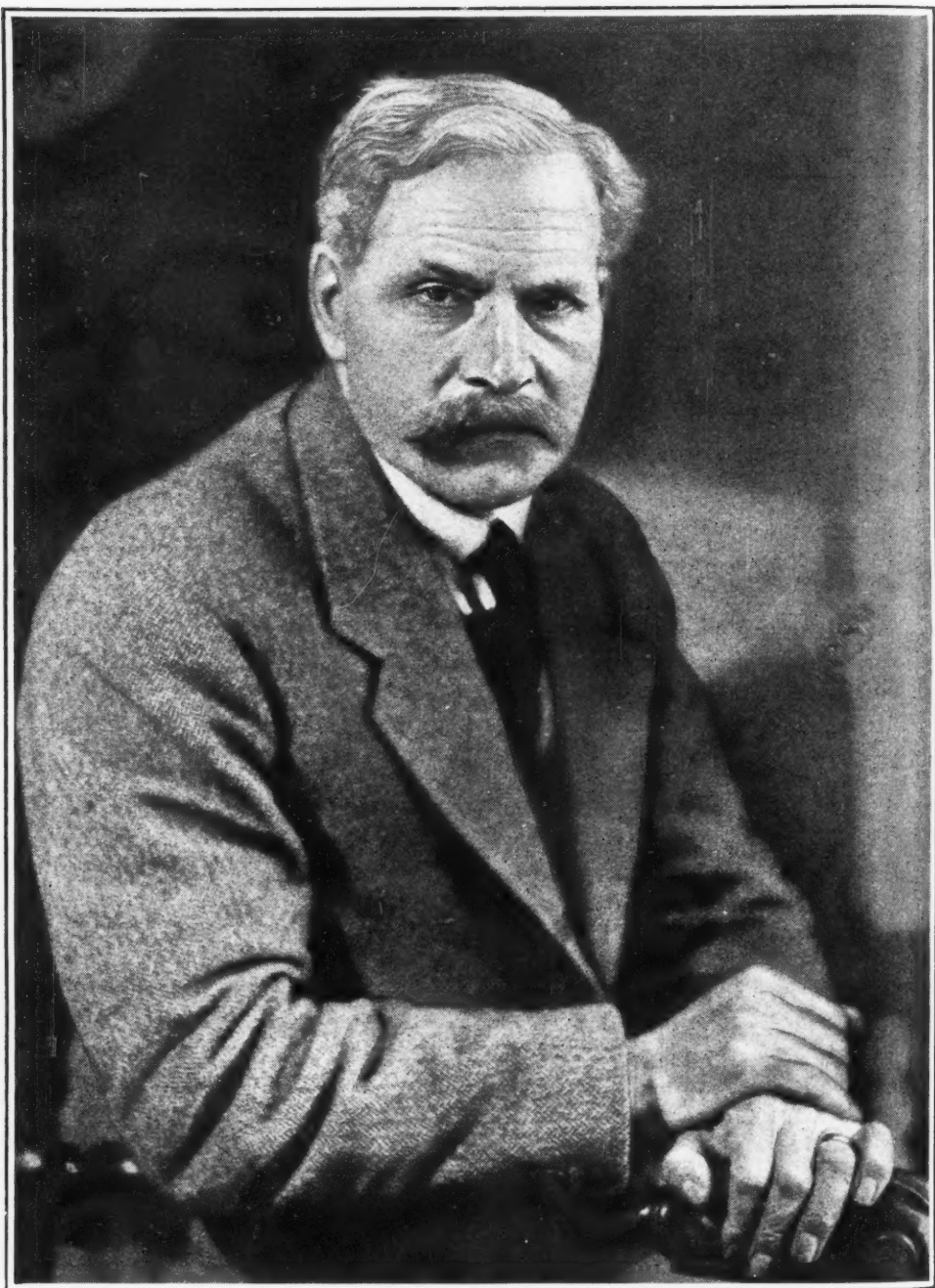
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**JAMES RAMSAY MACDONALD**

The leader of the Labor Party in the British House of Commons. As a result of the general election of November, 1922, the Labor Party became the second largest in the House and thereby the official Opposition. This position was more than maintained at the general election of December, 1923. As leader of the Opposition Mr. Macdonald thus became entitled to succeed to the office of Prime Minister and form a Labor Government in the event of the resignation of the Conservative Government under Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Macdonald was born in Scotland in 1866 and has long been known as an exponent of Socialism

# MONTHLY HISTORY OF WORLD EVENTS

## EVENTS OF THE MONTH IN THE UNITED STATES

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University; Chairman of the  
Board of Associates in CURRENT HISTORY

THE American people are always interested in the ideas of the Chief of the National Government. President Coolidge has found it necessary to limit the time which he can give to unofficial visitors, for he is now facing, from day to day, the relations of Congress to problems of home and foreign policy. The extent of those problems may be surmised; for instance, he sent to the Senate about 2,000 nominations to "Presidential offices." Nevertheless, he finds the opportunity to express himself on a variety of public questions.

On Dec. 7 he wrote a letter praising the "splendid practical plan of the Board of Charities and associated organizations of New York City." He recommended to Congress (Dec. 10) attention to the plans of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics; and he broadcast a eulogy of President Harding, setting forth his "sincerity and frankness," his "simplicity and directness," his expectation of "peace, industry and production" for the world. To the Harding Memorial Fund he subscribed \$1,000. On the issue of tax reduction he announced (Dec. 14) that the tax reduction bill should take the lead. A pardon was granted (Dec. 15) for the thirty persons in jail since the war, not for any criminal acts, but for words or writings held to be seditious. The President took the unusual step (Dec. 18) of directing the Secretary of Agriculture to hold up pending subsidies of the United States to aid in the construction of roads in Arkansas. It was announced (Dec. 22) that the President gave no encouragement for the holding of an international conference on the limitation of air armament.

He radioed his good-will to McMillan

on his Arctic travels. A letter was made public (Dec. 24) urging greater efforts to maintain permanent employment for disabled war veterans. Other letters on the same subject were sent out. A Christmas present of eleven pardons was granted (Dec. 6) to as many prisoners in Federal jails. Certain internal party quarrels in Oklahoma were settled by the President (Dec. 26). He asked (Dec. 28) for a report from the War Department on the probable effect of extending our laws on coastwise traffic to the Philippine Islands. He issued a letter (Dec. 30) urging the farmers to form co-operative associations for marketing their products. He sent out (Dec. 31) a hearty New Year's greeting to the American people. On New Year's Day, 1924, he held an open reception at the White House and shook hands with nearly 4,000 persons. He again urged Congress (Jan. 8) to give preference to the tax reduction bill over all other measures. Those who have the opportunity to see the President report that he stands up well under the severe pressure of his office.

In the Executive Department an interesting event was the reinstatement in the Federal service of Wilmeth, an official in the Bureau of Engraving, who was suddenly removed two years ago.

An important judicial decision was made by the Federal court in Delaware (Jan. 3) upholding the transfer of some 5,700 German patents which were taken up and sold during the war by Alien Property Custodian Garvan. The court saw no reason for annulling the action of Attorney General Palmer, President Wilson and other officials at the time. The controversy over organizing the House was settled

(Dec. 15) by placing John M. Nelson on the Rules Committee. On Jan. 9 the Senate broke the deadlock on the chairmanship of the Committee on Inter-State Commerce, a combination of the Democrats and six radical Republicans electing Senator Ellison D. Smith, Democrat, of South Carolina to the post. Up to Jan. 11 no important measures had been reported for action by either house of Congress.

In Massachusetts an effort is being made to place before the people for their votes an adjusted form of the Constitution which was submitted to popular vote in 1919, received a good majority, and was then disallowed by the Supreme Court of the State.

No understanding has been reached in the Philippines. Several representatives of the Insular Legislature are now going from State to State arguing for independence. Governor Wood and the Legislature have again come to grips, this time over the veto by the Governor General of a tax remission bill. It is clear that nothing will satisfy the Filipino leaders except the forced resignation of Wood. The tone toward visiting Americans seems rather hostile. The discovery that a son of General Wood, an officer in the army and in confidential relation to the Governor General, has been for some time speculating on the New York Stock Exchange and that he claims to have made immense profits, has been seized upon by the enemies of Governor Wood in the Philippines and at home. Mr. Frear, a member of the House from Wisconsin, has demanded an investigation of Governor Wood's conduct of his office.

Eighty adherents of a Filipino religious society on Bucas Island were killed in an encounter with a detachment of the Philippine Constabulary. Nineteen men of the Constabulary were killed.

#### POLITICS

Changes in the political methods of the United States are slow. The country was interested in the pre-primary convention in South Dakota in November—an elaborate attempt to give the minority a fair chance. The same thing has been attempted in a recent election in Cleveland, under a proportional representation system, which

drew a very large vote, took several days to count, and seems satisfactory to the people of the city.

In national affairs, public interest is absorbed in the approaching Presidential election of 1924. In the Democratic camp the man who seems to be most in the limelight is McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, Government Director of Railroads during the World War, and son-in-law of ex-President Wilson. He came out (Dec. 12) in favor of a bonus, and likewise of tax reduction. His supporters are active in many parts of the country. Other Democratic candidates are pushing forward. Among them are Governor Ralston of Indiana, ex-Governor Cox of Ohio, Governor Silzer of New Jersey, Governor Smith of New York, Governor Bryan of Nebraska (brother of William J. Bryan), Governor Ritchie of Maryland, Governor Davis of Kansas, and possibly Senator Reed of Missouri. The party realizes that the two-thirds rule which prevented the nomination of Champ Clark in 1912, may work against McAdoo.

Among the Republicans, the most lively candidate is Hiram Johnson of California, whose friends are making a fight for him, especially in the Middle West and the Far West. He announces that he will enter the lists in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Illinois, and has also threatened to contest New York and Massachusetts. Through his campaign manager, Frank H. Hitchcock, he has made an attempt to secure the Alabama delegates. He makes it a point to criticize the political decisions and actions of President Coolidge. The political sky was much cleared when Henry Ford, on Dec. 19, publicly announced that he was not a candidate "on any ticket," and that he was satisfied with President Coolidge and wanted no change. This instantly took him out of the calculations of both parties. Senator Johnson was badly hit by this accord, and publicly declared that it could mean nothing but a low bargain between the President of the United States and Ford, by which the second party would eventually get the water power of Muscle Shoals.

The minor candidates for the Republican nomination have been rather quiet, while President Coolidge openly enters the field. The South Dakota primary and

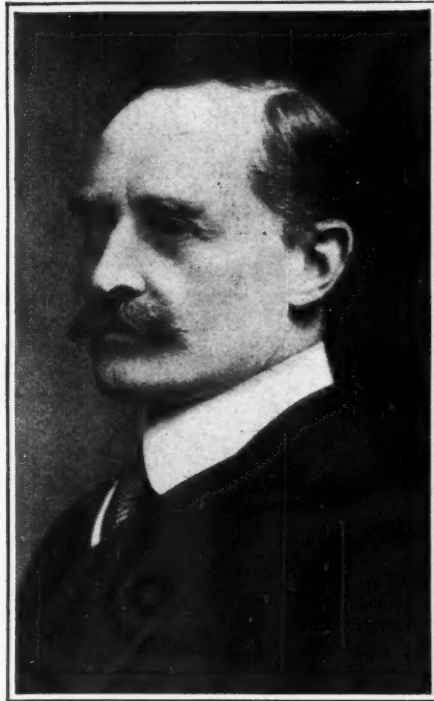
various straw votes seemed to indicate that he is the most popular man in the country. His campaign is backed up by William Butler of Massachusetts, a warm personal friend and supporter, who is a candidate for the Senatorship from the State. The National Republican Committee seems to be in favor of Coolidge by about seven to one, and it seems likely that he will contest the California primaries with Johnson.

The Republican Party also has troubles with regard to its convention. After a spirited engagement between Chicago and Cleveland, the President showed so decided a preference for Cleveland that it has been selected for the convention, which will assemble June 10. The Republican conventions choose by majority vote, but for years they have been disturbed by the problem of the Southern States, in which no Republican electors are ever chosen. The negroes, who presumably would vote the Republican ticket, are not allowed to vote at all; yet, in the convention they have the same weight as the delegates of States of equal population which are strongly Republican. To correct this state of affairs, the convention of 1920 adopted rules under which the representation in the convention was based in part on the Republican vote actually cast in the various States. This was looked upon by the Republican negro leaders in both North and South, as a slur upon them; and they secured from the National Republican Committee (Dec. 12) a return to the old rule, except that some of the Northern States received a few additional delegates.

#### FINANCE

Throughout the country the State and local Governments are steadily increasing their annual expenditures, raising the taxes, screwing up the valuation of real estate, and in many cases regularly spending from year to year more than their normal income.

The Government of the United States is almost the only one in the whole world that is trying to reduce its taxation. The proposal of Secretary Mellon to cut down the income tax has been strongly backed by President Coolidge, who (Jan. 4) objected to any changes lest they "compromise it out of existence." Secretary



International

SIR ESME HOWARD

British Ambassador to the United States  
in succession to Sir Auckland Geddes

Mellon's proposal includes, first of all, a recasting of the present tax bill so as to get rid of many difficulties and misunderstandings; then a reduction of the surtaxes from a maximum of 50 per cent. to a maximum of 25 per cent., thus relieving large incomes; but he believes that the United States will get more money than under the present system. The Republican members of the House of Representatives, meeting in caucus, Jan. 10, voted to give the Administration tax reduction program preference over the soldier bonus bill.

Then comes the question of tax exempt bonds, issued throughout the country. The amount of these bonds is stated by experts to total about \$19,000,000,000. The purpose has been to place bonds at a lower rate of interest, and the exemption is a contract on bonds now outstanding. Legal authorities see no remedy short of a proposed national constitutional amendment which would forbid the issue of such bonds by nation, State or city.

The most serious difficulty in Congress just now is the effort to reduce the revenue by \$300,000,000 a year and at the same time to grant a bonus to the 3,000,000 or more men who enlisted in the World War. The necessary outlay would begin with perhaps \$100,000,000 a year; but according to Secretary Mellon would mean a total expenditure of at least \$5,000,000,000.

#### THE WORLD OF BUSINESS

The modern conception of the history of the United States holds that business and the relation of government to the carrying on of business are an important part of current events. At the turn of the year experts figured out the financial results of the previous twelve months. Secretary Mellon pointed out (Dec. 31) that the annual Federal balance sheet showed a surplus of \$310,000,000. A total of \$7,500,000 of short-term war bonds have been refunded on favorable terms. On this ground he puts forward his plan for reduction of taxes. His figures do not appear to include the \$5,000,000,000 of war debt due with accumulated interest from foreign Governments.

Secretary of Commerce Hoover predicts a prosperous year in 1924 because of "the general spirit of prudence, the absence of speculation, complete employment, high production and the great financial strength and stability." In New York State alone, the State-chartered banks show resources of \$9,500,000,000 as against \$7,750,000,000 a year ago. The cost of living seems to show a small increase. Foreign trade was considerably larger for 1923 than for 1922. Large amounts of gold and silver are still coming to the United States.

The ultimate power of the Federal Government to regulate trusts is shown from time to time by the results of long-fought suits. A Federal court has ruled that the Cement Manufacturers' Protective Association is an unlawful corporation and must cease the private understandings which amount to assembling the whole trade into a trust. Two of the great packing companies, Armour & Co. and Morris & Co., have refused to submit their books to the Secretary of Agriculture, although this is prescribed by law.

In banking, the Federal Reserve Board

showed (Dec. 27) outstanding loans and discounts of over \$11,000,000,000. In manufacturing, the most striking announcement is that of Henry Ford, who looks forward to new capital expenditures of from \$110,000,000 to \$150,000,000, including plants in numerous cities. Agriculture is still depressed by the low prices of the 1923 crop. One trouble is undoubtedly that large areas of once valuable land have been cropped out, and can be restored only by crops that will leave vitality in the soil, and by fertilizers. The Ford Motor Company is about to push a new ammonia-sulphate product of its coke ovens. The Federal Bureau of Public Roads is distributing 18,000,000 pounds of sodatol, a surplus war explosive. The Department of Agriculture announced (Dec. 17) the total value of crops for the year as \$8,300,000,000—a total increase of about \$1,000,000,000 over 1922. The great money-making crop is corn, which brought high prices.

#### TRANSPORTATION

The method of conveyance of persons and goods, which is most in the public mind at present, is aviation; it has made almost as much progress in the last two years as in the eighteen previous years since man-flying began. American aviators have registered in the past year 33 new world records of various kinds, all of them made by army or navy fliers. Secretary of the Navy Denby announced (Dec. 25) that the Navy Department would undertake an airplane survey of the Arctic region north of Alaska. Captain Amundsen also is to try to reach the North Pole by the air route. Airplanes have been used to distribute poison to kill the boll weevil. On Dec. 17, the aeronauts celebrated at Dayton the first successful airplane flight made by the Wright brothers twenty years ago. The air mails in the United States have become an every-day matter. What is now needed is a system of Federal law for interstate transit by air.

The railroads are more prosperous than a year ago, many paying good dividends. A national conference on transportation began its session in Washington on Jan. 9. It was announced (Jan. 4) that the Government had almost entirely settled all claims of the railroads arising out of the

World War, the total amount being \$1,700,000,000. A very important decision by the Supreme Court (Jan. 7) held constitutional the "recapture" clauses of the war railroad act, by which the strong and earning railroads were obliged to carry some of the weaker lines, which would otherwise be unable to operate. The railroads were able to reduce their running expenses by about \$1,000,000,000 last year; but they now need large sums for the improvement of their tracks and their service.

The system of building modern automobile highways through the States by the aid of the Federal Government received a shock when President Coolidge (Dec. 18) directed Secretary of Agriculture Wallace to withhold Federal road aid from the State of Arkansas pending investigation into charges that State road taxes are confiscatory. This is explained by the bitter complaints of many Arkansas farmers that the road taxes in some cases were more than the value of the farms. On the other hand, during the year in the United States, 8,820 miles of new road were opened, upon which Federal aid had been spent; this is about a sixteenth of the total length of roadway which the Federal program expects.

The attention of the country is aroused on the question of waterways. The Great Lakes are now well developed and carry an enormous traffic. The Mississippi River has been improved at a great expense and still has scanty traffic. The Panama Canal has been immensely important, and turned out in the last reported year a profit of \$11,000,000, which is about 3 per cent. on the cost of the canal. Pressure is now being brought upon the Government at Washington to secure a St. Lawrence canal through Canada.

Although at last accounts American ships were carrying 30 per cent. of our exports, and about 50 per cent. of the imports, our shipping is still under a cloud. The failure (Jan. 1) of the well-known Ward Line, which operated a numerous fleet to Central and South American ports and across the Atlantic, is significant. The United States Shipping Board is still under discussion. The Senate refused (Dec. 20) to confirm the nomination of E. P. Farley as Chairman of the board

and his name was withdrawn by the President. The difficulty was solved (Jan. 3) by appointing Admiral Palmer as President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The American ship *Leviathan*, built by the Germans and formerly known as the *Vaterland*, has been in service since 1923, but went aground in New York Harbor on her last voyage (Dec. 30).

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS

Several striking events of international importance during the month must be recorded. These include the note sent by the Soviet Government to Secretary Hughes proposing discussions between the United States and Russia to remove all misunderstandings between the two countries, to which communication the Washington Government returned no answer; Senator Borah's resolution favoring the recognition of the Soviet régime and the controversy between him, Secretary Hughes and Moscow over the evidence published by the Secretary to prove that the Soviet Government was fomenting seditious activities in the United States with the aim of overthrowing the American Government.

In Mexico the United States has for many months been endeavoring to come to an understanding with Obregon as the man actually in power and the head of a stable Government. Hence both the Harding and Coolidge Administrations have looked with no favor on the revolutionists who are trying to break up the Obregon Government. The President therefore directed that Obregon should be allowed to buy unused weapons and munitions from the United States. This announcement, made on Dec. 29, was followed by a direction (Jan. 7) that arms should not be sold by the United States to the Mexican revolutionists.

Among minor diplomatic relations may be mentioned an agreement signed by Admiral Bristol with the Turks for a claims commission (Dec. 24). An appeal has been made to the Senate, by a committee of those interested, to refuse ratification of the Lausanne Treaty, now pending, on the ground that the Turks cannot be relied upon to carry out the treaty, and that it is unfavorable to American interests. Meanwhile notice has been given by the Turkish authorities (Dec. 19) that

the Chester concession has been annulled. Notwithstanding the pressure for adhesion to the World Court by both President Harding and President Coolidge, no progress has been made in that direction. Senator Lodge (Dec. 16) announced that he was opposed to any membership of the United States in the present World Court.

The same subject has been approached from a different point of view by the Bok Prize of \$50,000 for the best plan by which the United States can take part with other nations in putting an end to war. Out of 22,185 plans submitted, about 200 were sifted out as the most promising. From among those, the choice was made by a jury headed by Elihu Root. The selected plan was made public on Jan. 3 and provides in effect: (1) That the United States should at once enter the existing Court of International Justice; (2) that we should continue and enlarge our co-operation with other nations in joint matters; (3) that the United States should "associate" with the League, with the understanding that the Monroe Doctrine is to stand and that we are under no obligation to protect other nations; (4) that a commission of jurists be appointed to prepare a revised body of international law. The plan contains no statement that war is impossible, or that the United States is bound to maintain the present state of things in the world. The plan was at once violently attacked by certain newspapers on the ground that the jury had not read all the 22,000 plans and suit is threatened to compel it to do so. The plan is now being voted on by the public, and if the vote is favorable the author will receive another \$50,000.

Edward A. Filene of Boston, has offered \$50,000 for a series of prizes on the best method of bringing about European peace, to be open to writers from England, France and Italy. His own announced plan includes the systematic use of an economic boycott.

#### PEACE AND ORDER

The attention of the bar and of the public is strongly turned toward the difficulty of protecting the peaceable from the criminal. When, as happened in New York recently, nineteen patrolmen are disciplined at one time for neglect or viola-

tion of their duties, it becomes evident that something needs to be done. Philadelphia is just making itself an object-lesson through the designation by Mayor Kendrick of General Butler of the Marines as head of the police. He announced that professional criminals must give up their illicit activities in the city within forty-eight hours. Extensive police raids followed. Lax police officers were disciplined.

Attempts to reduce crime by extra-heavy sentences do not seem to be a solution, perhaps because juries cannot be depended on to bring in a verdict which will make such long sentences possible. Burglary, thefts and hold-ups are still frequent in the great cities. In some cases hackmen and chauffeurs are organized for criminal purposes. Likewise, crimes flourish that do not involve violence, such as counterfeiting, extortion and embezzlement. Many of the bucket shops and fraudulent brokerage houses have closed their doors, often with large cash balances still in the hands of the thieves.

The Ku Klux Klan is less in evidence than it was a few months ago. In Eastern New Jersey there has been a revolt against the Imperial Wizard, and a demand for an accounting of initiation fees. Philip E. Fox, former publicity agent of the Klan, was convicted (Dec. 22) and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of William S. Coburn, a Klan attorney. The opponents of the Klan in Texas are marshaling their forces against Mayfield, United States Senator-elect, who is supposed to be backed by the Klan.

The controversy still rages over the bootleggers. So far as evidence could be obtained, the liquor ships did not succeed in landing a supply adequate for an old-fashioned New Year's carouse. The controversy was marked by a flaming speech in the House by Representative Upshaw of Georgia, proposing to deprive of his privileges any member of Congress or the House found under the influence of liquor; and the dismissal of any official or employe of the United States Government who used liquor.

In Washington the prohibition enforcers got hold of a bootlegger's record said to contain code numbers of 1,400 customers. If the police had any names, however, they



COSME DE LA TORRIENTE  
Cuban Ambassador to the United States  
and President of the Assembly of the  
League of Nations

did not make them public. Liquor seemed to be flowing from the premises or custody of a diplomatic representative in Washington, not named; and the State Department, on inquiry, replied that the Government had no control over liquor brought in by diplomats if such liquor was not offered for sale. The capture of the Dutch schooner *Zeehond* (Dec. 8) brought a remonstrance from the Dutch Government. The seizure in November of the British vessel *Tomoka* outside the three-mile limit, led to a request by the British Government that the crew be set free.

The list of lynchings for the year 1923 amounted to 28. Of these victims of mob rule 26 were taken out of the hands of officers of the law whose duty it was to see that they were held for legal trial and punishment. Birch, a hotel proprietor in Marlow, Okla., was killed by a mob because he tried to protect a negro employe whose offense was that he had remained in the town overnight contrary to the unwritten law of the place. On the other hand, the lynchings were less than half the number of 1922. In 46 other instances persons sought by the mobs were protected by the officers of the law. Of

the persons lynched 26 were negroes, including two women. Criminal assaults on women were the grounds for only 7 of the 28 cases.

### THE PEOPLE

Few questions have recently arisen as to population or race elements. It was announced (Dec. 15) that some 30,000 Japanese farmers would give up the tillage of about 500,000 acres of rich land in California because so compelled by the United States Supreme Court decision affirming the State anti-alien land laws. Some movement of negroes back to the South has been noticed since the cold weather came on.

Recent figures show that the percentage of illiteracy for the whole population has gone down in the last ten years from about 8 per cent. to 6 per cent., and that for negroes from about 30 per cent. to 23 per cent. Unfortunately, the percentage for foreign born whites has risen a little and now stands at 13 per cent.

A lively controversy has arisen in several of the great national churches over confessions of faith. Some of the best known Protestant Episcopal rectors of large churches in New York have insisted that a belief in the truth of the Apostles' Creed is not necessary for salvation or acceptance. Among them are Dr. William N. Guthrie, Dr. Percy Stickney Grant and Dr. Leighton Parks. The movement has the sympathy of other "Modernists," and of several Bishops, including Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts. An attempt to prosecute the Rev. Mr. Heaton of Fort Worth, Texas, for heresy broke down.

### LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

The conditions of labor have been constant through the last month. A New York Judge has ruled that under certain circumstances a labor union can be compelled by legal process to issue a union card. The Federation Bank, established by union labor in New York, has rapidly grown until it has resources totaling \$4,000,000. Secretary of Labor Davis has asked for some substitute for the present Railroad Labor Board.

A notable event in immigration is the annual report of the Secretary of Labor and his elaborate bill submitted to the appropriate committee of Congress on Dec.

31. This is a different measure from the pending Johnson bill. Though it adheres to the quota system, it includes the Latin-American countries and Canada and provides for special treatment for special cases. Some action must be taken by Congress inasmuch as the quota law will expire by limitation on July 1, 1924. At present the quotas of several of the European countries are exhausted and no more can be admitted during the next six months.

#### MILITARY AND NAVAL AFFAIRS

The general question of the size of the army is still pending. The War Department feels that the present basis of 125,000 men is not sufficient for protection against surprise and that it does not allow for the development of new arms of the service. Sergeant Samuel Woodfill, especially selected by General Pershing as a war hero,

has been retired after thirty-three years' service in the army.

Captain Watson, who has been held responsible for the loss of the destroyer squadron on the Pacific Coast, has been formally reduced by 150 numbers. More than 100 navy vessels, large and small, were ordered on Jan. 2 to concentrate at the Panama Canal for practice in fleet organization, supply and control.

The treatment of the disabled soldiers by the Veterans' Bureau has been characterized by General O'Ryan, counsel for the Senate Committee on Veterans, as "established conspiracy to defraud the Government." The matter now goes before Congress for its action. Director Hines, head of the Veterans' Bureau, reports that the Government, during the last fiscal year, spent about \$450,000,000 for the relief of former service men, and that the liability of the Government for war-time insurance is about \$1,000,000,000.

### MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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#### MEXICO

**B**ETWEEN the middle of December and the close of the first week in January, the chief military operations in connection with the rebellion in Mexico have been those in progress in three major theatres of action, namely, the territory between Mexico City and Guadalajara, the territory between Mexico City and Vera Cruz, and the region immediately south and west of Mexico City. In addition, rebellious activity and hostilities between rebel and Federal forces have been reported from virtually every State in the republic.

The first organized campaign on the part of the Federal Government to crush the rebellion was directed against General Enrique Estrada, who from Guadalajara as a base threatened Mexico City from the west. On Dec. 13 the first clash occurred between advanced Federal forces and soldiers of General Estrada at Ocotlán, Jalisco, 115 miles southwest of Irapuato and fifty miles southeast of Guadalajara. A victory was claimed by the Federals. Three days later the Mexican War Office

announced that the Estrada forces were retreating toward Guadalajara without offering resistance and were destroying railroads and bridges to prevent the advance of the Federal troops. For this reason, according to a Federal communiqué, President Obregon decided to concentrate all activities upon the eastern battlefield, where, by Dec. 15, he had established his headquarters at Apizaco. With respect to later operations in the west, the Federal War Office announced on Dec. 21 that the "operations against Guadalajara were progressing without fighting" and on Dec. 22, that "Government troops continue their uninterrupted advance in the State of Jalisco, repairing railroad tracks destroyed by the rebels." A Federal communiqué of Dec. 29, however, admitted that the main body of Estrada's forces was at Ocotlán and that Yurécuaro, thirty-five miles east of Ocotlán and only eighty miles from Irapuato, was then held by the rebels. Rebel headquarters had announced the capture of Yurécuaro on Dec. 25. Earlier, on Dec. 15, rebel headquarters announced that General Salvador

Alvarado, with an infantry division, and General Manuel Dieguez, with nine cavalry regiments, were co-operating with General Estrada in the west and that Acámbaro and Uruapan had been captured by the rebel forces. Other announcements of the rebels with respect to operations in the west were that by Dec. 23 General Estrada had driven off Federal forces guarding the railway between Irapuato and Aguascalientes and that by Dec. 27, 2,000 Federal soldiers under General Lázaro Cárdenas had been defeated and that General Cárdenas with his entire staff and 500 soldiers had been captured in the region south of Lake Chapala. The defeat of General Cárdenas was confirmed by a Federal communiqué of Jan. 2. Announcement was made by the Federals on Dec. 29 that the rebels had fallen back ten miles from Ocotlán to Pontilán and that Ocotlán had been occupied by the Federals without resistance. Federal dispatches stated that the main body, advancing on Guadalajara numbered more than 8,000 men, with 3,500 cavalry, 4,500 infantry, three artillery regiments, and a squadron of airplanes. Rebel troops were reported on Dec. 30 to have reoccupied Ocotlán. At the same time Federal headquarters were reported to have been established at Yurécuaro and the Federal vanguard to have occupied La Barca, fifteen miles east of Ocotlán.

Soldiers under the general command of General Sanchez were on Dec. 15 established on a line running from Esperanza, on the Mexican Railway, northwest thirty-five miles to Oriental, on the Interoceanic Railway, and thence west thirty miles to Apizaco, a town on the Mexican Railway, and, by that railway, eighty-seven miles from Mexico City. The important City of Puebla, 115 miles southeast of Mexico City and from thirty-five to fifty miles south and west of the above-mentioned battlefield, was occupied by the insurgent forces on Dec. 14 as Federal troops evacuated the city. Official admission was made by the Federals on Dec. 18 that Governor Garcia Vigil of Oaxaca and General Fortunato Maycotte of that State had taken up arms against the Obregon Government. The following day General Maycotte, with 6,000 insurgents, was re-

ported by rebel headquarters to be in possession of Puebla. A Federal communiqué of Dec. 18 stated that President Obregon was at the head of 22,000 troops between Mexico City and Vera Cruz. Newspaper correspondents with the revolutionary forces estimated on Dec. 19 that 12,000 rebels were facing the Federals in the same sector.

Federal forces on Dec. 20 began an advance on Puebla while the main forces of both armies faced each other along the Apizaco-Oriental-Esperanza front. General Villareal with 6,000 rebel soldiers evacuated Puebla on Dec. 22. The Federals claimed to have captured 1,000 soldiers and sixteen locomotives when they occupied Puebla. The day following the Federal re-occupation of Puebla, Federal forces under Generals Cruz and Topete were sent toward Tehuacán, an important railway junction eighty miles southwest of Puebla and thirty-two miles south of Esperanza. According to Mexico City dispatches of Dec. 29, Tehuacán was evacuated by the rebels, the main body of whom under General Maycotte had retreated south toward Oaxaca. Federals were reported to be advancing north from Tehuacán toward Esperanza. The rebels announced the recapture of Tehuacán on Jan. 4. A Federal War Office communiqué of Jan. 4 stated that the Federals were again advancing on Tehuacán.

Meanwhile, little change had been made on the Apizaco-Oriental-Esperanza front. Announcement was made by the rebels on Dec. 22 that Generals Cavazos and Payano, commanding regiments in the Federal vanguard, had with all their soldiers joined the rebel forces near San Marcos, an important railway junction between Puebla and Oriental. Dispatches from Vera Cruz on Dec. 29 stated that the main body of the revolutionary forces still had their bases at Esperanza and Oriental and that San Marcos and Huamantla, in the immediate vicinity, had been abandoned by the Federals. The Mexican War Office announced the same day that the rebels were "continuing their retirement" along the front from Chalchicomula by way of Esperanza to Oriental, and were concentrating at Boca del Monte, which was being fortified with naval guns. The rebels were reported on Jan. 5 to be pre-



A troop train with Mexican Federal troops in the station at Irapuato waiting for orders to move forward to meet the rebel forces that threatened Mexico City soon after Adolfo de la Huerta initiated his attempt to overthrow President Obregon's Government

paring to attack San Marcos, where picked Federal troops had been massed to oppose them. General Cavazos, on Dec. 31, was reported by the rebels to be advancing on Pachuca, capital of the State of Hidalgo, and on Jan. 2 it was reported from Mexico City that General Cavazos had been defeated near Pachuca.

South of Mexico City there has been considerable rebel activity. At the time of the announcement of the "Plan de Vera Cruz" by General Sanchez and Adolfo de la Huerta on Dec. 6, General Rómulo Figueroa, in the State of Guerrero, had, as a result of an election contest, already rebelled against President Obregon. Announcement by the Mexican War Office on Dec. 7, to the effect that General Figueroa had "completely surrendered," was denied by the rebels and an official insurgent communiqué of Dec. 17 stated that General Figueroa claimed complete control of the State of Guerrero for the insurgents with the exception of the capital, Chilpancingo. The same communiqué announced the surrender to the rebels on Dec. 15 of Acapulco, the most important port in Guerrero. American Consul Bucklin, at Acapulco, confirmed this in a telegram to the State Department on Dec. 15. Six days later revolutionary headquarters in Vera Cruz announced that General Figueroa had entered the adjoining State of Morelos and had occupied Cuernavaca, the capital of the State, and only about 40

miles south of Mexico City. Additional advices stated that General Figueroa was co-operating with General Alvarado, who was menacing Toluca, capital of the State of Mexico, and 40 miles west of Mexico City. The same day, Dec. 23, the Mexican War Department dispatched General Arnulfo Gomez, Commander of the Mexico City garrison, with 1,500 soldiers to Cuernavaca with instructions to proceed by way of Cuernavaca to Puente de Ixtla, the headquarters of General Figueroa, 25 miles south of Cuernavaca. According to Federal claims, Puente de Ixtla had, by Dec. 26, been captured by their forces. A Federal communiqué of Dec. 30 announced that General Caraveo had defeated a large body of Figueroa followers at Zacualpan and Barranca Grande with fighting continuing at Cerro Alto.

Meanwhile, in the northeastern part of the State of Morelos, the important railway town of Cuautla had been captured by rebels on Dec. 16. The abandonment of Puebla, to the east, and of Cuernavaca, to the west of Cuautla, minimized the advantages claimed by the rebels at the time Cuautla was captured. Aside from the three major theatres of action, revolutionary activities have been sporadic in character, though fairly general all over the republic.

American Chargé d'Affaires Summerlin

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# BOLSHEVISM AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

By CHARLES SAROLEA

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*The Soviet Government's unconcealed aim at world revolution—  
Its effective propaganda among the Eastern peoples directed  
against England—Its failure in Central Europe marked by tide  
of reaction—Success nearly attained in England and Scotland—  
New war possible against Poland, the anti-Bolshevist barrier*

EVER since the Bolsheviki took violent possession of political power in November, 1917, their chief purpose has been to engineer a world revolution. In order to achieve that purpose they will not hesitate to resort to war if their enemy is weak and if there is any chance of success; but wherever it is possible, they prefer to use the weapon of diplomacy, agitation and propaganda.

Soviet politicians are always denouncing the wickedness of Great Britain and France, who allegedly never cease interfering in the domestic affairs of a sorely troubled Soviet Russia, which only asks to be left in peace and to be allowed to mind its own business. The truth is that foreign Governments would be only too happy to let the Russians achieve their own salvation. For the last three years none of the powers has shown the slightest inclination to intervene in Russian affairs. It is the Soviet agitators who are obstinately pursuing that very policy of interference of which they accuse other Governments.

When I tried to bring this fact home to them, they either flatly denied it, or with the casuistry and duplicity which are characteristic of Bolshevism, they made a hypocritical distinction between the Soviet Government, which abstains from any kind of propaganda, and the Communist Party, which has the right to make any propaganda it pleases. Whatever the reader

may think of this casuistical distinction, the fact of a seditious, world-embracing agitation cannot be denied.

Every Soviet Legation in Europe has become a centre of revolutionary Bolshevik propaganda against the existing order. Every legation has a huge staff of officials, running into hundreds, the majority of whom are spies, agitators and "agents provocateurs." Those representatives of the proletariat are generally established in palatial buildings. In London Mr. Leonid Krassin has acquired huge offices manned by agents with many aliases. In Berlin the sumptuous residence of the Soviet representative in Unter den Linden is known to every tourist, and there are many overflow premises. In Kovno (Lithuania) I found that almost the only monumental building of the little Lithuanian capital was the residence of the Soviet Ambassador. In Warsaw the Russian Legation, occupying the vast premises of the Hotel de Rome, has been duplicated by an Ukrainian Legation, although the Russian Legation and the Ukrainian Legation represent one and the same Government and the Ukraine has become a mere satrapy of Moscow. Each of those Soviet Legations may be described either as a revolutionary rookery or as a hornet's nest. I saw more movement and more business transacted in the Hotel de Rome than in all the other legations together.

I may mention that at Warsaw I was

myself the beneficiary as well as the witness of the lavishness and liberality with which the Soviet dictators carry on their propaganda. I was unable to get from the Bolshevik plenipotentiary, Mr. Karakhan, a diplomatic visa to proceed to Russia, but when I expressed a desire to obtain some political literature for my private study, I received, to my great delight and surprise, a whole boxful of more than a hundred revolutionary books and pamphlets, and I was further presented with such a beautiful collection of seditious posters and inflammatory pictures that I was able to hold a special exhibition in Edinburgh.

#### WORLD REVOLUTION OPENLY PLANNED

It is quite unnecessary and entirely misleading to represent Bolshevik activities as a secret plot. We must rather give the Bolshevik credit for the cynical frankness with which they have stated their aims. We have only to read the protocols of the various Bolshevik congresses, the speeches, proclamations and manifestoes which are accessible to any one who can understand the Russian language. Above all, we have only to remember the fundamental principles of Bolshevik policy in order to satisfy ourselves of the existence of a Bolshevik conspiracy whose one aim it is to bring about a world revolution, and which has already met with a very large measure of success.

When one compares the foreign policy of the Entente with the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, one cannot help being impressed by the incontestable superiority of the latter. The foreign policy of the Entente is full of incoherences and contradictions. It has fluctuated from year to year according to the interests of the party in power and according to the varying moods of individual politicians. Not only did each member of the Entente pursue a different objective, but in each country each politician followed his own separate line. In Great Britain Mr. Lloyd George had one policy and Lord Curzon had another policy, which again was different from the policy of Mr. Winston Churchill. Successive Cabinets have been in turn pro-German and anti-German, pro-French and anti-French, pro-Turkish and

pro-Greek. The foreign policy of the Soviet Government has been, from the beginning, absolutely consistent and inspired by an inflexible purpose.

Like the Germans in 1914, so the Bolsheviks when they started the world revolution in 1917 had to wage a war on two opposite fronts. They had one theatre of operations in the East and another in the West. Each demanded a different strategy. In both the dictators were following the same aims, but pursuing different enemies. In the East the offensive was mainly directed against England. In the West, the offensive was directed against every civilized Government.

At first it seemed as if, for the Bolshevik Government, the Eastern theatre of operations was destined to be the more important and that the Eastern war was the line of least resistance. It must be remembered that Russia has always been a semi-Oriental power. She understands the Oriental mentality. The East seemed to contain more inflammable material. It was in the East, it was in India, Afghanistan and Egypt that the chief enemy of the Bolsheviks, namely England, could be hit with the most deadly effect.

It was, therefore, only to be expected that in 1920 and 1921 the Bolsheviks should concentrate their efforts on their Eastern theatre of operations. As was the case with the Germans in 1914, the initial campaign of the Bolsheviks was a startling succession of triumphs. The active intervention of the Soviet Government produced in almost every Eastern country changes of so dramatic and so far-reaching a character that even the Oriental imagination of Lord Beaconsfield could not have imagined their possibility. The Bolsheviks stirred up the religious fanaticism of every Mohammedan people against Great Britain, who was represented as the common enemy of Islam. They succeeded in stirring up Nationalist feeling in Egypt and Syria, in Persia and Afghanistan, in India and China, and they certainly helped the Nationalists to victory.

As an essential condition of the success of the Oriental policy, it was necessary that the Bolsheviks should enter into a political and military alliance with Turkey. Under Czarism, Turkey had been the hereditary enemy of Russia. She was now to become



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the accomplice of Russia. The Turco-Russian alliance produced momentous results. In the first place, it brought about the destruction of Greece. But for the military support of the Bolsheviks, Greece would not have been so easily crushed and Turkey could not have achieved her spectacular victories in Asia Minor. In the second place, the alliance brought about the destruction of Armenia. Accustomed as we are to Armenian horrors there are few more odious incidents in recent history than the Russian crime perpetrated against the people of Armenia. In the third place, the alliance brought about the revival of Turkish political power. The Conference of Lausanne was a striking demonstration

of that revival. For six months the "Unspeakable Turk" challenged Lord Curzon and seemed to be in a position to dictate terms to the Entente powers.

The culminating point of the active Oriental policy of the Bolsheviks was the Congress of Baku in the Summer of 1920. The stage management of that Pan-Asiatic Congress, like most of the staging of the Bolsheviks, was truly wonderful. More than 1,800 self-appointed delegates from all parts of the Oriental world gathered in the Oil City, which had recently been evacuated by British troops. Zinoviev, the dictator of Petrograd, who presided over the congress, made a fiery opening speech. He was supported by Enver Pasha (son-in-law of Sultan Mehmed V.), who claimed to speak in the name of the revolutionary organizations of Morocco, Algier, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Arabia and India. The burden of Zinoviev's speech was that England could be most effectively beaten in her Eastern possessions; that a boycott of British trade in India, as the result of Bolshevik agitation, would be the best reply to the blockade of Russia by Great Britain, and that if Great Britain could be cut off from her Eastern markets, a deathblow

would be dealt to British capitalism and imperialism. At the conclusion of the conference the Bolsheviks arranged a dramatic scene. All the delegates rose to their feet brandishing their scimitars and pledged themselves by a solemn oath to preach undying hatred and to wage eternal war against the English, the oppressors of the human race and the enemies and persecutors of all Mohammedans.

#### THE HOLY WAR AGAINST ENGLAND

The Congress of Baku was followed by an appeal calling upon all the nations of the East to carry out this pledge and to wage the Holy War against England. The

first two signatures under the manifesto were those of Karl Radek, the Director General of Bolshevik propaganda, and of Bela Kun, the ex-dictator and the butcher of Hungary. The last signature is that of the President of the Congress, Zinoviev. The appeal extends to about 3,500 words. It was translated into every Oriental language and distributed in pamphlet form all over Asia. The copy which I have before me has a picture representing two Turks affixing the revolutionary manifesto on the walls of a public building in Bukhara (Turkestan). I am giving a few extracts from that extraordinary document, although, in order to form an idea of the violence and diabolical cleverness of the manifesto, it ought to be read in its integral text:

*Great Britain, having emerged the only real victor of the war and being the omnipotent mistress of one-half of the world, is now proceeding to fulfill the purposes for which she made the war, namely, to secure for herself all the lands of Asia, and finally to subdue all the nations of the East.*

*Peoples of the East, you know what England has done in India. You know that she has transformed the countless millions of Indian peasants and workers into dumb beasts of burden. The Indian peasant has to surrender to the English Government so large a part of his harvest that he can scarcely feed himself for a few months with what remains to him. Every year millions of Hindus are dying of hunger. \* \* \*. The Hindu dares not sit at the same table with the Englishman, or live in the same house, or travel in the same compartment, or visit the same school. In the eyes of the English bourgeois every Hindu is a beast of burden. The corpses of his victims fill the streets of rebellious Indian villages and those who survive have to creep on their bellies for the gratification of English officers and have to lick the boots of their oppressors.*

*People of the East, do you know what England has done with Turkey? In Constantinople the English have transformed all schools and universities into barracks. They have suppressed all teaching in the Turkish language. They have prohibited all Turkish newspapers. They have filled prisons with Turkish patriots.*

*People of the East, what has England done in Palestine? In order to please Jewish-English capitalists she has deprived the Arabs of their land to sell it to Jewish colonists and then, in order to divert the hatred of the Arabs, she has stirred up those Arabs against the Jewish colonists whom she had herself introduced. She is thus sowing enmity and*

*hatred among the different races. She thus plays off the one against the other in order that she may the more easily oppress them.*

*What has England done with Egypt? She has brought Egypt under a yoke which is more cruel and more destructive than the yoke of the Egyptian Pharaohs, who, through the toil of their slaves, erected the gigantic pyramids.*

*What has England made out of China? Together with her accomplice, imperialist Japan, she has transformed this mighty land into an English colony. She exploits a population of 300,000,000 and poisons them with opium.*

*Europe is getting too small for English capital. That capital has enormously increased and it cannot find any further outlets. English capital therefore needs new lands and new workers, dumb slaves deprived of all human rights.*

*Those new lands the English capitalists have found in the countries of the East. Those dumb slaves they have found in the nations of the East. English capitalists desire finally to proletarianize all the nations of the East, to ruin all peasants, all hand workers, all tradesmen and drive them as hungry slaves to toil on their plantations, in their factories and their mines. Such is the future which imperialistic England is preparing for the nations of the East.*

*We call on you to wage a holy war for your freedom and your life. England, the last powerful imperialistic bird of prey which remains in Europe, has spread her black wings over the Mohammedan countries of the East and makes a last effort to bring the nations of the East under her claws.*

*ARISE, men of India, who lie prostrate from starvation and slave labor!*

*ARISE, peasants of Anatolia, groaning under taxation, bled white by the usurers!*

*ARISE, men of Arabia and Afghanistan, lost in your sandy wastes and cut off by the English from the rest of the world!*

*ARISE against the enemy of the human race, against imperialistic England!*

This quotation gives only an inadequate idea of the violence and perfidy of the manifesto of the Congress of Baku. When we consider that this manifesto appeals to the fanaticism and ignorance of hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that it is addressed to the passions of a simple-minded and illiterate people; when we consider that it has been circulated in millions of copies in every Asiatic country, we are bound to confess that it is not likely to conduce to the pacification of the troubled East.

One might have expected that the Bol-

sheviki would have started their European offensive by regaining a foothold in the new Baltic Secession States, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, and especially that they would have tried to secure a sea base in Riga and Reval. But obviously a sea base would be of no use to them without sea power, and Russian sea power had ceased to exist through the destruction of the Russian fleet. Since 1917 the Russian Navy had covered itself with infamy. The only active service which the Russian fleet could boast of was that expressed by the crimes of the Cronstadt sailors, crimes which, for fiendish cruelty, have never been surpassed even in Soviet Russia. As long as Russian sea power was not restored, all that the Bolsheviki could hope for was to retain an open window on the Baltic. Hence the importance of Reval and Riga as the only means of intercourse with Western Europe.

In order to keep that access open, it was absolutely necessary to maintain peaceful relations with the new Border States. The trade of the Northern ports had been destroyed. Riga was a deserted city. The once proud Queen of the Baltic was degraded into a repository of the treasures which had been looted in the mansions of the Russian nobility. In the meantime, pending the recovery of Russian trade, the Baltic ports could serve a very useful purpose. They might be for Soviet Russia what Stockholm and Christiania during the war had been to the Germans, a political base of operation, neutral meeting places for all Europe supporters of Bolshevism. That is exactly the service which Riga and Reval are unwillingly rendering to the Soviet Government. They are observation posts and centres of agitation. In the fullness of time, and after the success of the world revolution, Latvia, Esthonia



Ewing Galloway

Natives of Russian Turkestan, an autonomous Asiatic republic under the Soviet régime, with an area of 577,400 square miles. Bolshevist propaganda is spread through the republic to neighboring countries

and Lithuania are expected automatically to return to their Russian allegiance.

Though the Bolshevik agitation was a complete failure in the New World, it proved a complete success in Finland, in Hungary and in Bavaria. I cannot here enlarge on the terrible story of the three Bolshevik upheavals in Helsingfors, Budapest and Munich. Those three upheavals must be looked upon as integral chapters of the Russian revolution. In every one we find the same methods, the same leadership, the same influence, the same murderous strategy, the same combination of honest fanatics, furious madmen and common criminals. In every one we find the same dictatorship of the proletariat. We even discover that the same incendiary posters which had served their evil purposes in Moscow were also used in Budapest, with the text translated into the Magyar language. Bela Kun repeated in Budapest the horrors which at a later date he perpetrated in the Crimea on a much larger scale. The massacre of the hostages in the prisons of Munich was only a repetition of the countless massacres of hostages in every part of Russia.

But even as in Italy, so in Central Europe, the Bolsheviks, intoxicated by success, overreached themselves. Bavaria, Finland and Hungary were not ready for the Bolshevik millennium. All three countries were mainly peasant communities and in every one of them the red terrorism was very soon replaced by a white terrorism. Today, in all three countries, reaction is supreme. That reaction has been primarily a reaction against Bolshevism and has resulted in the spontaneous formation in all three countries of large citizen armies. Even in Bavaria, as I was able to ascertain in the course of a visit to Munich in 1922, the Escherich and the Hitler organizations were not, as the French press would make us believe, militaristic and nationalistic organizations; they were primarily established as a protection of the Bavarian middle class and peasantry against the Bolshevik peril. They were essentially "fascist" movements. Fascism, the potent weapon which the ex-Socialist Leader Mussolini wielded against the Italian Communists, is not only an Italian phenomenon. Fascism has become

a ubiquitous Central European phenomenon. It is the instinctive, inevitable and salutary reaction of the body politic against the disintegrating forces of Bolshevism.

#### NEAR SUCCESS IN GREAT BRITAIN

Having been beaten in Central Europe, the Bolsheviks directed their energies against England. There, also, after the armistice, the political and economic conditions seemed to favor a social upheaval. The high cost of living, the dislocation of industries, the loss of foreign markets, the increase of unemployment, the unsettlement of opinion were so many causes of chronic unrest. Moreover, according to the Marxian gospel, England with its concentration of capital and industry was to be the first country where a Communist upheaval had serious chances of success. In the West of Scotland especially, the industrial situation seemed to have assumed an ugly complexion. It was therefore to the West of Scotland that the Moscow dictators transferred their activities. From 1919 to 1921 Mr. Maclean and Mr. Gallacher, the Communist agitators on the Clyde, were in close touch with Moscow.

I have in my possession the voluminous reports of the Congresses of the Third International in 1919 and 1920. In the published report of the Moscow Congress of 1920 there are no less than twenty-four speeches delivered by British delegates. Mr. Gallacher, especially, played an important part in that Congress. The interesting point in Mr. Gallacher's speeches is that the Scottish Communist proved even more uncompromising than Lenin. The controversy between Gallacher and Lenin also enables us to understand why a Russian statesman is so much more dangerous than a Scottish demagogue. Mr. Gallacher pleaded that the British Communists should have nothing to do with a cowardly bourgeois Labor Party. Lenin, on the contrary, declared himself to be strongly in favor of the fusion of the Communist Party and the Union of Shop Stewards with the Labor Party. True to his opportunist and realistic strategy, Lenin argued that the British Communist wing ought to work inside the Labor Party; that the British Communists could thus make themselves much



Ewing Galloway

Idle men at Bokhara, the capital of the Bokharan People's Soviet Republic, a dependency of Russia. The country, which is bounded on the south by Afghanistan, has been one of those through which Russian propagandists have approached India for the purpose of spreading Bolshevik ideas

more formidable to the capitalist régime and could be much more useful to the Bolshevik movement, while if they stood outside, they would remain an important minority. If they remained inside, said Lenin, they might eventually, at a critical moment, impose their policy on the majority, because in a crisis it is always the extremists who carry their point. Until that crisis arose, it was obviously the best Bolshevik tactics for the British Communists to work unceasingly to leaven and to inspire the present evolutionary British Socialist Party with revolutionary Communist spirit.

The confident hopes of Lenin and his Scottish associates were not destined to be realized. The unrest of the Clyde in 1920 did not develop into an acute crisis. Although there is still a great deal of inflammable and explosive material spread about, there is no immediate prospect of a

Communist upheaval. The agitators declare, however, that they have already achieved a very considerable measure of success in the West of Scotland, that they have sown the seeds of future labor troubles, that they have enormously strengthened the anti-capitalistic forces in Scotland, as is sufficiently proved by the formidable Labor representation in the House of Commons.

#### ACTIVE CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY

Being temporarily defeated in Great Britain, the Bolsheviks had to fall back on Germany. Here again, they utilized the favorable political conditions, viz: the occupation of the Ruhr, the collapse of the mark, the industrial distress and the presence in Germany of large Russian colonies. It is an open secret that the Communist movement in Germany for the last five years has been entirely directed from Mos-

cow, that "Comrade" Karl Radek is the wire-puller who is behind every riot and every strike and that it is the Moscow Government which supplies the German Communist parties with the sinews of war.

In its dealings with Bolshevism, the German Government finds itself in a difficult position. It has, in my opinion, played a curiously ambiguous and a very dangerous game. The political and economic conditions in Germany are such that the Government is almost bound to become the tool and the accomplice of the Moscow agitators. In the first place, there is an irresistible temptation for the Berlin Government to use the bugbear of Bolshevism for the double purpose of frightening the Entente Powers and of keeping the German middle class in order. In the second place, a feeble German Government, depending on the support of the Socialists, has to be extremely careful in its dealings with the extreme wing of the Labor Party, which itself lives in constant terror of the Communist Party. In the third place, through the Treaty of Rapallo, Germany has become the political ally of Russia. Rathenau made the Treaty of Rapallo even as Ludendorff made the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, because he hoped to obtain definite economic advantages for Germany and because he saw in Russia a rich potential market.

I have frequently discussed with Rathenau the foreign policy of Germany. Even before his advent to power he was obsessed with the necessity of that Russo-German alliance which was to be his main political achievement. Being the head of the General Electricity Company, he was also allured by the grandiose electrification schemes of Lenin. The outcome of this very complicated political situation is that today we may observe the paradox that even a conservative German Government cannot afford to break with the Bolshevik Government, and that Baron von Maltzan, the moving spirit of the German Foreign Office, is compelled to favor a Bolshevik policy. In 1917 Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia, was brutally murdered with the connivance of the Bolsheviks. The German Government did not dare to break diplomatic relations, but immediately sent the great

Helfferrich to take the place of the murdered ambassador. Today Helfferrich's successor, Count von Brockdorf-Rantzau, obeying directions from Berlin, is singing the praises of the dictators, and dancing to the Bolshevik tune. We may point out once more as an extenuating circumstance for this Machiavellian policy that Germany finds herself in a desperate position and a desperate situation requires desperate remedies. The alliance of Germany and Russia may be described as an alliance "In extremis."

#### POLAND AN ANTI-BOLSHEVIST BULWARK

Here must be emphasized what is so generally forgotten both in England and in America, that, in view of the present ominous alliance between Germany and Bolshevik Russia, Poland is today the only insuperable obstacle to a future Bolshevik offensive. Poland, of all countries, is the worst possible conductor of Bolshevik electricity. The Polish peasant of all peasants is the most refractory to Bolshevik propaganda. In establishing Poland as a bulwark against the forces of disorder, the plenipotentiaries of Versailles builded better than they knew. Earl Balfour, when I introduced to him a young Polish diplomat, expressed his conviction that a strong Poland is essential to the preservation of the new European order. To those familiar with Eastern Europe, this statement expresses an elementary truth. In the Bolshevik plan of campaign lies the explanation of the indefatigable propaganda which the Bolshevik Government has been conducting and is still conducting all over Europe against Poland. That campaign of calumny has been so successful in England that even conservative leaders like Lord Robert Cecil have come to represent Poland as the "enfant terrible" of Europe, as a permanent cause of unrest in the East, whereas, in fact, Poland is the only bulwark against the Bolshevik advance.

Not only have the Bolsheviks carried on a campaign of calumny against Poland, but they are also pursuing a systematic policy of provocation. They are constantly sending out agitators who engineer frontier incidents, stir up labor and racial trouble in Eastern Galicia, in Silesia and in Lithuania, and preach war against Poland as

the Holy War of Bolshevism. In 1920 war actually did break out between the two countries. Both sides accuse each other of being responsible for the outbreak. But even if we accept the Bolshevik version of the origin of the Russo-Polish war, if we reach the conclusion that Pilsudski anticipated a Bolshevik attack which he knew to be inevitable, we must also admit that he fell into a trap which had been set for him by the Bolshevik Government. In that Polish-Russian war of 1920 the Bolsheviks advanced to the very outskirts of Warsaw. Although the Poles were left in the lurch by the British Government owing to Bolshevik pressure on the Labor Party, the Bolshevik armies were repelled in the end and the dictators were compelled to sign the Peace Treaty of Riga. It is not too much to say that the Polish victory was the salvation of Europe. There can be no doubt that had it not been for the resistance of the "militaristic" Poles the dictatorship of the proletariat would be established today from the shores of the Pacific to the frontiers of Belgium.

#### NEW WAR ON POLAND A POSSIBILITY

The menace of 1920 may rise again. It must be obvious even to an optimistic student of Eastern affairs that the peace of Riga is only a suspension of hostilities. During my recent Moscow visit a new war with Poland had become almost an obsession of the Bolshevik rulers. It was the daily subject of conversation. So far as the Russians are concerned, the wish is father to the thought. Poland will certainly not begin another war, but she may not be able to avoid it. Disquieting signs are not wanting. Trotsky is today repeating the identical methods which succeeded so well in 1920. A few weeks ago he made an inflammatory speech in which he put forward with regard to Poland the same monstrous claim which Germany put forward in 1914 with regard to Belgium, namely, the right of invading the territory of a sovereign nation to further militar-

istic purposes; in this case the right of marching an army into Germany over Polish soil and joining forces with the victorious Communist revolution. If we are to trust Mr. Trotsky, Russia will declare war unless Poland allows the Bolshevik armies to march over her prostrate body; unless she surrenders her independence and commits national suicide. It is quite true that from his own point of view Trotsky is perfectly right. Bolshevism can maintain itself in Russia only if there is a Communist revolution in Germany. The Communist revolution in Germany can win only if supported by Bolshevik Russia. Bolshevik Russia can give effective support only if she is allowed to send her armies through Poland. But it is no less true that the provocations and menaces of Trotsky, if they are repeated, may bring about war. A nationalist Government has just assumed the reins of Government in Warsaw. Trotsky, therefore, may hope to succeed more easily in his purpose of rousing Polish national feeling. I earnestly trust that Mr. Roman Dmowski, the new Polish Foreign Secretary, will be able to restrain the patriotic sentiment of the Polish people. But even if he succeeds, the fact remains that the Bolshevik Government continues to be a terrible neighbor for the Polish people. The present perilous situation recalls to one's mind the political prophecies of Edmund Burke on the eve of the War of 1795. In his immortal "Letters on a Regicide Peace" Burke expressed his conviction that a peace with Terrorist France could be of only short duration. The event proved that Burke was right, and French terrorism did eventually bring about a European war which was to last for twenty years. Similarly, today, there is good reason to believe that there can be no permanent European peace until the Bolshevik fever has burned itself out, until new men and a new Government replace the fanatics who have turned Eastern Europe into a military camp and unfortunate Russia into a lunatic asylum, a hospital and prison.

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# THE NEW ACCORD BETWEEN SPAIN AND ITALY

By CARLO SCHANZER

Senator of the Kingdom of Italy; former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance and head of the Italian delegation to the Washington Conference

*Italo-Spanish rapprochement purely commercial and economic—No military or naval alliance involved; no hostile action against France or England contemplated—Spanish and Italian interests require Mediterranean equilibrium*

THE visit which King Alfonso XIII. of Spain recently paid King Victor Emmanuel III. in Rome has given rise to a vast deal of comment and supposition, most of which is far from the truth, when not totally unfounded. Post-war European history is almost exclusively the history of the groupings of powers and forces according to the principle of nationality or affinity of political interests whose object is the creation or the consolidation of a position of hegemony.

It is natural, under these conditions, that two nations which occupy such important international positions as Italy and Spain, which have a mission to perform in the world and common interests to further, should feel the necessity of drawing closer together and should stretch their hands in friendship across the Mediterranean, without necessarily compromising in any way the friendships or understandings which each one may have with other powers. It may, therefore, be useful to examine coolly and dispassionately the significance and true importance of the new rapprochement, in the light of its effects not only on the relations of the two countries chiefly interested—Italy and Spain—but also on international relations in general.

Certain it is that the Spanish Sovereign's visit to Rome was not one of the usual royal visits, which are mere acts of international courtesy and devoid of any special political significance. In this particular case, the political significance is immediately obvious when one reflects that

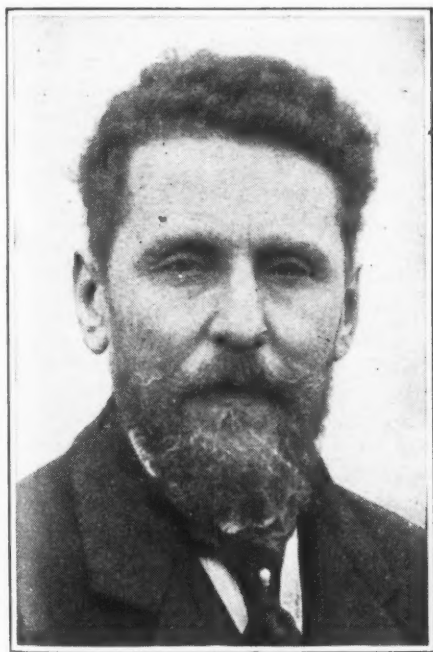
the visit put an end to a period, if not of actual tension, at any rate of lukewarmness in the relations between the two countries and marked the beginning of a new period of friendship and co-operation. It cannot be denied that in the past the relations between Italy and Spain have been somewhat insufficient, not only in the political but also in the commercial and intellectual fields—a surprising state of affairs in view of the ancient historical relations between the two countries, the affinity of the two races, the similarity of the two languages and the common spiritual and artistic traditions. It seemed almost as if the Mediterranean, instead of being, as it ought to, a kind of bridge uniting the two peoples, had constituted an element of separation between them. This has, perhaps, been due to the fact that since the beginning of the eighteenth century the historical fates of the peninsulas, which up to that time had been closely interwoven, gradually drew apart and each of the two peoples went its own way in an attempt to secure its own national unity and its autonomy within the comity of nations.

Two other causes contributed to retard an Italo-Spanish rapprochement. On the one hand, in the economic field, the similarity of several of the exportable commodities of the two countries (such as oil, wine, farm produce and so forth) not only reduced the volume of business between them to the lowest limits, but made them competitors in the same markets. On the

other hand, in the political field, the Spanish nation, which is profoundly Catholic and devotedly attached to the Holy See, had been greatly displeased, in 1870, to see the Italians set foot in Rome, the centre of Catholicism and the traditional seat of the Pontiff. Many years had, therefore, to pass before it was possible to forge closer economic and commercial bonds between Italy and Spain and before the development of public opinion eliminated the political obstacles which had blocked the way to an understanding between the two peoples. The visit to Rome of the Spanish sovereigns served merely to open the eyes of both Spaniards and Italians to the fact that the time was ripe for the two Latin sisters who had too long lived apart, to lend each other a helpful hand.

#### COMMERCIAL TREATIES

Commercial relations between Italy and Spain had suffered a real interruption in 1905. It was found impossible to reach an agreement in the matter of customs tariffs, especially for the lower grades of wine.



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The interruption did Italy much harm, both on account of the suspension of the special facilities which her merchant marine had enjoyed up to that time (because of the difficulties of communication by land, almost the whole of the traffic between Italy and Spain is carried on by sea) and on account of the high Spanish tariffs, which almost completely ended Italian exportation to Spain. This state of affairs was somewhat improved by the Italo-Spanish commercial treaty of 1914, which again put into force the most favored nation clause for most commodities except the lower grades of wine. The 1914 treaty, however, came to an end in June, 1921, and both sides then restored the highest customs tariffs, much to the detriment of Italo-Spanish trade and especially of Italian exports. Both Rome and Madrid, however, well aware that such a disastrous situation could not long continue, made a temporary agreement in 1922 and then began negotiations for a permanent commercial convention. King Alfonso took a personal interest in these negotiations and the new commercial convention between Italy and Spain was signed the day before his departure for Rome.

This convention eliminates, to the advantage of both sides, the discriminations of the past and establishes, with a few exceptions, the principle of equality of treatment on the basis of the most favored nation clause, by virtue of which any reduction in tariffs granted or to be granted to third powers is also extended to Italian and Spanish goods. No less important is a clause designed to eliminate the competition of Italy and Spain in international markets. The two nations agree to nominate a mixed commission of experts to study measures to increase the exportation of certain products of both countries to third States, with a view to avoiding competition with each other in those States. This commission will endeavor, also, to facilitate the exchange of raw materials and particularly the importation into Italy of Spanish coal on the most favorable terms. In this way it is hoped, especially if the land communications between the two countries are perfected and the means of communication by sea increased, that Italo-Spanish trade may increase considerably in the future.

Let me now consider the political side of the visit to Rome of King Alfonso in the light of the relations between Italy and the Vatican. These relations had already become more nearly normal under the Pontificate of Benedict XV. and had not been impaired by the strain of the World War, when it became obvious to the whole Catholic world that the Law of Guarantees and the political foresight of the Italian Government had made it possible for the Church and its Supreme Head to carry on their high mission in perfect freedom even in the most difficult and stormy times. There is no doubt, however, that the visit to Rome of the King of Spain, who holds the title of "His Catholic Majesty" and who governs the nation which is considered the favorite child of the Catholic Church, is an event of very special political importance. It is true that some time before the Catholic King of the Belgians visited the Italian sovereigns in the Quirinal Palace, but his visit had less significance, as he came to Rome chiefly as the brother in arms of the King of Italy in the World War. It must also be remembered that, before the war, no devout Catholic sovereign had been able to visit Rome, not even the King of Portugal, though he was the son of a Princess of the House of Savoy, or Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria, though he was the ally of the King of Italy.

#### ITALO-SPANISH ENTENTE RESTORED

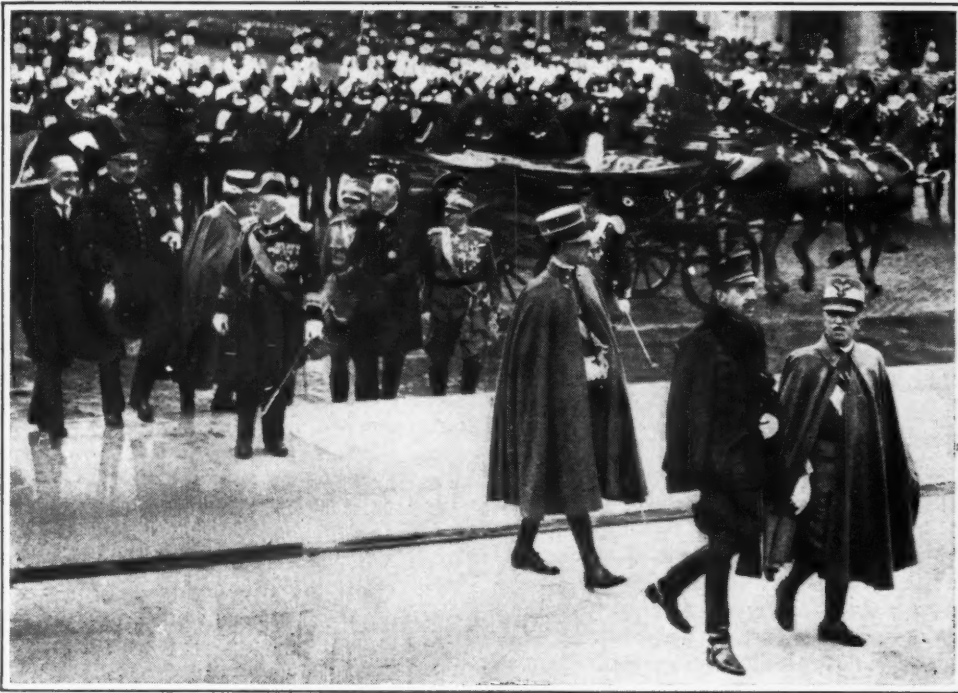
The visit of King Alfonso was, therefore, a political event of first rate importance. It furnishes new and eloquent proof that the co-existence in Rome of the Pontiff and of the King is founded on a solid and enduring basis and that the Spanish people have now overcome most of the prejudices, in the light of which the schism between Church and State in Italy seemed perpetual and irremediable. These prejudices have now been replaced by a bond of brotherhood between the two nations, the moral force of which cannot be exaggerated, namely, their common religious sentiment.

These conclusions are in no way invalidated by certain manifestations of the Catholic press in Rome immediately after the departure of the Spanish sovereigns. I refer to an article which appeared in the

*Osservatore Romano*, which is generally considered to be a faithful interpreter of the official thought of the Vatican. In that article, answering some liberal Roman newspapers which had interpreted the visit to Rome of the Spanish sovereigns as meaning that the famous "Roman Question" had been definitely closed, the Vatican organ denied that the coming to Rome of "His Catholic Majesty" should be interpreted as a renunciation—even if only implicit—of the Vatican to those rights which, according to the Holy See, are the kernel of the "Roman Question." After recalling the encyclical "*Pacem Dei Munus*," which was published by Pope Benedict XV. some three years ago, the *Osservatore* concluded that the "Roman Question" is and will remain open until steps are taken to give the Holy See full liberty and independence before the world.

These declarations produced a feeling more of irritation than of surprise among Italians. The Catholic Church, of course, never renounces, at least formally, what it considers its historic rights, though it shows much practical wisdom in adapting itself to the realities of new situations. Moreover, on account of its international position and universal character, the Church has every reason to reject any fact, or any interpretation of facts, which may injure it. To be quite frank, it must be admitted that it is in Italy's interest also that Church and State, while continuing to live together in perfect harmony, should maintain their respective positions, so that the Church may neither be nor appear to be subject to the State, nor the State to the Church.

Among the results of the visit to Rome of King Alfonso some observers have included the adoption of a common policy toward the Spanish-speaking republics of South America. This view is the result of excessively free interpretation of certain phrases of the toasts which were exchanged at the official banquet in the Quirinal Palace. The King of Italy, on that occasion, addressing the King of Spain, said: "The visit of your Majesty recalls the communion of our races, the undying glory and faith of our Latin origin, and is a token, at the same time, of our renewed friendship for a more effica-



King Victor Emmanuel of Italy (at right of photograph) and King Alfonso XIII. of Spain arriving at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Rome during Alfonso's visit to the Italian capital. Just behind them is the Crown Prince of Italy. Further back, the second figure from the left is General Primo de Rivera, head of the dictatorship by which Spain is now ruled

cious safeguarding of the spiritual and economic interests of the two Mediterranean countries, whose sons mingle in the fields of labor in distant lands across the Atlantic." King Alfonso, in reply, expressed himself as follows: "Italy and Spain, which have affinities of race and of history, are kindred nations also by the work they today carry on among the free and prosperous peoples whom Spanish navigators discovered and reunited to Europe under the leadership of the greatest and most famous of all sailors, the great Columbus, an Italian."

The words of the two Kings must not be subjected to fallacious interpretations. The idea is merely that the same increased cordiality in the relations between Spaniards and Italians in Europe must grow across the Atlantic between the Spanish-speaking peoples and the Italian groups, which are constantly growing in numbers and importance. To deduce from the phrases of the royal toasts the affirmation of a common Italo-Spanish policy

tending toward interference in the life of the South American republics or toward any act contradictory to the Monroe Doctrine would be to fall into a clumsy error.

#### FRENCH INTERESTS NOT THREATENED

There has been much talk in France, England and America about definite agreements concluded in Rome between the Italian and the Spanish Governments, special mention being made of a more precise definition of the common Mediterranean policy of the two nations. Some publicists have even referred to an Italo-Spanish naval alliance and to a common program for the two fleets, whose combined strength, with the Balearic Islands as a base, could, if we are to believe a certain Spanish naval critic, stretch an impenetrable line across France's lines of communication with her African colonies.

To draw such conclusions from the meeting in Rome of King Victor and King Alfonso and of Mussolini and De Rivera is nothing short of fantastic. It is true that the

Italian and Spanish Governments have exchanged views on various problems of European politics, and it is not beyond belief that during these exchanges of views some points of contact may have been found for concerted diplomatic action under certain specific conditions. But this is very different from concrete agreements, alliances, secret understandings and naval pacts. It may be said, without the slightest fear of denial, that such suppositions are quite without foundation, for though General Primo de Rivera and Signor Mussolini wield dictatorial powers in their respective countries and have, in foreign politics, far greater freedom than any Parliamentary Minister, one cannot believe that either of them can, or wishes to, follow a policy which is not approved by public opinion in their countries. The truth is that, quite apart from any formal agreement, public opinion in both Italy and Spain is fully aware of the fact that both countries have common interests, such as the freedom of the Mediterranean and the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The Rome meetings produced a certain amount of nervousness in Paris. I must say, however, that France, who strives to extend her diplomatic action over the whole of Europe, who protects and helps the Little Entente financially and militarily, who makes her influence felt everywhere, has small reason to complain or to be alarmed over a rapprochement between Italy and Spain. The only wonder is that it has been so long delayed.

If any agreement were to be made in the future between Italy and Spain over the Mediterranean, it would be purely defensive in character and would tend merely to maintain a state of equilibrium in that sea. Such agreements are bound to arise when a nation bent on establishing its hegemony, seeks to assume a place of unwarranted importance and to become predominant in the Mediterranean, restricting and choking other nations which, not animated by similar tendencies, are compelled by their internal situation to seek a wider economic expansion. It is not difficult to understand that the attitude assumed by France on certain occasions, such as for instance the Tangier question, must

lead Italy and Spain to join in examining certain Mediterranean questions from their own viewpoint. It would, however, be quite wrong for France to feel apprehensive of the renewed Italo-Spanish friendship or to consider it as a threat against her security in the Mediterranean. When a "Latin policy" was mentioned in Rome, it meant only that the Mediterranean should constitute for all three Latin nations an element of union and a common road to progress.

Still more devoid of justification than France's alarms are the suspicious comments concerning the Italo-Spanish rapprochement made in certain British circles, where an anti-British interpretation was given to the phrase "Latin Policy." Obviously, there can be neither in Italy nor in Spain any politician worthy of the name who could think of excluding England from the Mediterranean, on whose freedom the very existence of the British Empire depends. Though Italy and Spain have no intention of closing the Mediterranean to any one, it is, nevertheless, perfectly natural that they should not allow that sea to be monopolized by any other nations or closed to their own detriment. Nor will they allow themselves to be prevented by any nation from making free use of the sea which washes their coasts or of carrying out on it their necessary and legitimate program of economic expansion.

The statement that the rapprochement between Italy and Spain and the alleged self-appointment of these two nations as guardians of the Mediterranean will isolate France and force her into the arms of England has no reasonable foundation. France, it is true, has recently shown that she thinks it necessary to reach a better understanding with England, and overtures, it is said, have recently been made in London to this effect. But if France acts along these lines, she does so quite independently of any considerations of international politics and certainly not under the pressure or threat of an Italo-Spanish understanding. Neither Italy nor Spain has the slightest intention of following a policy which might in any way cause complications in Europe, nor have they the slightest thought of changing the present order of things or of severing

the ties which bind them to France and England. Both Italy and Spain are now, however, far too strong and too conscious of their worth to continue playing the part of mere satellites in the planetary systems of powers animated by ambitions to secure hegemony in Europe.

#### SPANISH AND ITALIAN ASPIRATIONS

At the end of the nineteenth century Spain's national energies were very much depressed, but since then her exhausted organism has recovered. Her neutrality during the war was a source of much wealth and prosperity and, despite the heavy sacrifices she has undergone in her campaigns in Morocco, she again feels her traditions calling and realizes the necessity of playing a more active part in European politics than she has played in the past. Spain has precious springs of future wealth and commercial prosperity, both in her fertile soil and in her mineral resources. One thing, however, disturbs her more than anything else: she does not wish to be denied her fair share of influence in the Mediterranean, both for her safety and for her economic expansion.

For Italy the problem of the Mediterranean is substantially the same. The reasons which justify Spain's demands are still more imperious in the case of Italy, which is a greater nation, a nation which emerged victorious from the war and which has a population equal to that of France. Italy is animated by pacific intentions and also by the desire that the Entente should be preserved, believing this to be the only controlling political force in Europe capable of furnishing guarantees for the maintenance of peace. But Italy cannot shut her eyes to the problems which her very victory, the attainment of her national unity, her geographical position and the needs of her ever-growing populations impose upon her.

One thing is certain: whoever in this or that European capital has spread reports of formal agreements and alliances between Italy and Spain directed against England or France or both; whoever has amused himself in drawing clever conclusions concerning an alleged concerted action by the two Catholic countries in South America, has merely given proof of his inventive capacities.



THE KING AND QUEEN OF SPAIN AT THE VATICAN

Medieval ceremonies were revived for the first time since 1870 when King Alfonso and Queen Victoria of Spain visited Pius XI. and paid him the homage due from Catholic sovereigns to the Pope. The photograph shows the King and Queen and just behind them General Primo de Rivera and standing around dignitaries and officials in costumes that were in vogue centuries ago

# THE ASSASSINATION OF MEXICO'S ABLEST STATESMAN

By ERNEST H. GRUENING

Former Managing Editor of The Nation, New York

Mr. Gruening recently returned from a visit of several months' duration to Mexico, where he came into intimate contact with President Obregon and other high officials of the Mexican Central and State Governments. He met Señor Carrillo, the Governor of Yucatan, and had exceptional opportunities to study his personality and the remarkable results achieved by his Administration

*Mexico's irreparable loss through slaying by Mexican rebels of Felipe Carrillo, Governor of Yucatan, whose extraordinary abilities and political foresight transformed a semi-barbarous wilderness into a progressive modern State*

**D**URING the first month of de la Huerta's rebellion, honors in the field were even. The Mexican Government, taken unawares, sought to win its first victory on the Washington front. Barely had it done so by securing the solid support of American labor and arms from the United States Government than the counter-revolution inflicted on Mexico an irreparable injury by the foul and cold-blooded murder of Governor Felipe Carrillo of Yucatan, three of his brothers and a half dozen of his closest associates.

When, on Dec. 6, General Guadalupe Sanchez revolted in Vera Cruz, Governor Carrillo immediately proclaimed his loyalty to the Government. He was without arms—a lack of foresight which duplicated that of the Obregon Administration, but which revealed both his pacific tendencies and his guileless faith, even in the land-holding group, which, with but few exceptions, had pretended to support him and the Federal régime. When he saw the garrison in Merida, the State capital of Yucatan, succumbing to their intrigues, he dispatched a faithful friend, Manuel Cirerol, to New York to purchase arms, and several days later, fearing arrest, retired to a distant part of the peninsula, where he thought he would be safe. Had he spoken the word he could probably have had the protection of thousands of Maya Indians, who idolized him. But he refused to countenance the inevitable

sacrifice of many lives that would have ensued had these sons of the soil, armed only with machetes, clashed with the professional soldiery, armed with rifles and machine guns. Some one betrayed Carrillo's whereabouts. He was captured, and, with



FELIPE CARRILLO

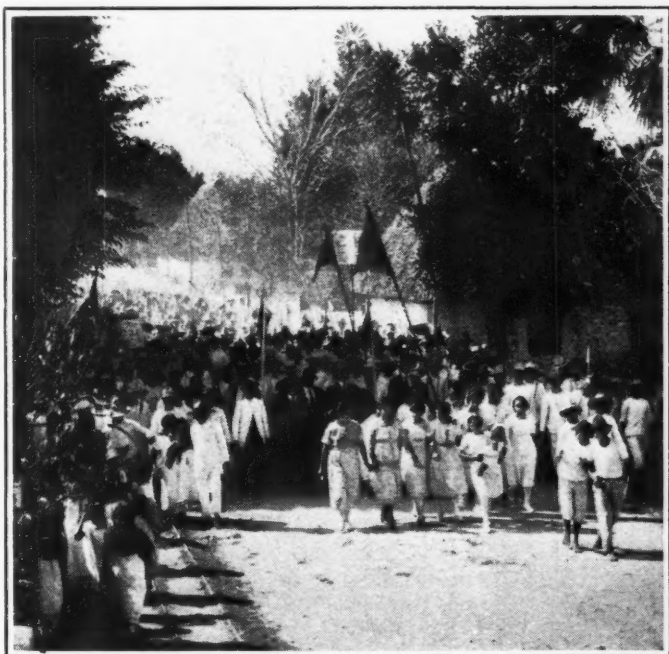
The Governor of the State of Yucatan who was assassinated soon after the outbreak of rebellion in Mexico

his immediate following, lodged in prison in Merida. There, according to reports from Vera Cruz, they were cold-bloodedly assassinated.

Carrillo's loss is irreparable, because in Mexico, which grievously lacks trustworthy men capable of leadership, none exceeded the late Governor of Yucatan in his unquenchable idealism, loyalty to principle, energy and ability. Excepting only two or three men in the Central Government, he was the outstanding figure in Mexico, though less known abroad than others because his activities had been confined to one section of the country—the Yucatan Peninsula.

Yucatan, thrusting northeastward from the Central American isthmus, insulated on three sides by the Gulf and on the fourth by impassable jungles, has been unique in history. It was the seat of the most advanced pre-Colombian civilization in this hemisphere. When Europe was still in its dark ages the ancient Mayas had built great stone cities, and had achieved accuracy in the measurement of celestial movements a thousand years ahead of Western science. After the conquest, Yucatan developed and maintained another but vastly different anachronism—the last survival of chattel slavery in this hemisphere. In the person of Felipe Carrillo, direct descendant of Natchi-Kokom, one of the ancient Maya kings, these two widely separate epochs were strangely linked.

Tall, handsome, gray-eyed, a white aristocrat in appearance, Carrillo's heart beat valiantly with the love of his race and its humblest sons. Fifteen years before the crash of the Diaz feudalism "Felipe," as he was known throughout Yucatan, had



Inhabitants of a Yucatan village celebrating the distribution of land among the people

spread the doctrine of freedom among the Maya slaves of the great henequen plantations. That bitter slavery under which men were whipped and killed at their masters' pleasure, and their women made the victims of the masters' lust, was wholly illegal. Carrillo's campaign of liberation consisted largely of expounding the Federal Constitution of 1857 and of translating it into the Maya language. For this he was repeatedly imprisoned, and narrowly escaped with his life.

When, after years of betrayals and disillusion, Obregon became President, the Mexican revolution in Yucatan for the first time came into its own. Felipe Carrillo, elected Governor, took office in 1922. He put schools into every village and on every plantation, carried out the national agrarian laws, by which a small plot of land may be cultivated by every man willing to work it, and in two years built more roads than had been built in Yucatan since the Spanish Conquest. But the big landowners hated him. He had robbed them of their slaves. They were now forced to pay day wages and grant reasonable hours



Type of road in Yucatan before Governor Carrillo began his work of constructing modern highways

to the men who had been their property. They resented the progressive taxes by which Carrillo sought to break up their monopoly of land in city and country.

Yet it was Carrillo, curiously enough, who averted their ruin. Sisal, the fibre of the henequen cactus, from which binder twine for the American wheat farmer is made, slumped from its war peak of 18 cents to less than 3 cents a pound. Production was stopping, and the industry and the State faced disaster. Then it was that Carrillo stepped in. The State took over control of the industry, purchased the great oversupply in the United States, and, by limiting production and eliminating the waste of competition, gradually restored the industry to normal. The hacendados, however, did not get all the benefit—the people got a share. Though there was a margin of profit to the grower for every bale of sisal exported, the State took the surplus and invested it in education, roads and other public works. Only a

group of business Bourbons, still dreaming of the halcyon days of human slavery, would have continued to weigh their lessened sweat-and-blood profits against the new democracy. As shrewd an observer as John F. Barry, Mexican editor of *The New York Commercial*, wrote recently:

Altogether the new order of things in Yucatan is a matter for congratulation. When one looks at the countries of Europe, where the struggle for existence is hard and bitter, Yucatan becomes Utopia. The Government calls itself "Socialist"; it should better be called "progressive," based on our understanding of the meaning of the terms. Governor Felipe Carrillo is the type of ruler that Lincoln would have loved.

In pursuance of his plan to lift up his beloved people, Carrillo built modern highways to the great stone cities of the ancient Mayas, and gave the work of exploring and restoring them the first impetus it had ever received from a Yucatan

Governor. "I want to let my people know that they are of the same race that did these great things. They, too, can achieve." That was his credo.

He introduced many reforms. Underlying all of them was his passion for personal liberty. His marriage and divorce laws were as advanced as any on earth. "Marriage," reads Yucatan's civil code, which embodies his own belief, "is a voluntary union based on love, for the purpose of founding a home, and dissoluble at the wish of either party." In accordance with this conception, the law granted divorce for the asking. In Yucatan it was not necessary to prove one of the offenses which in various States of our own country justify divorce, nor as in New York, to concoct fraudulent evidence of an act of conjugal infidelity.

Information regarding birth control, which in the United States is still classed in Federal and State laws with things "indecent and obscene," was freely available in Yucatan. Carrillo believed that

the right of parents, and particularly of the mother, to determine the time of child-bearing and the number of offspring, was essential to the emancipation of woman and to the development of a better society. The feminist leagues were charged with the spreading of this information as an integral part of their child welfare work. Last August the first birth-control clinics were established in Merida.

Co-education is a commonplace in the United States, but in Latin America it was a startling iconoclasm. Carrillo adopted it throughout the schools, believing it a vital step toward abolishing the cloistered—and, in his judgment, the degraded—position which the Hispanic-American woman has always held.

He likewise took over the American athletic tradition. The Spanish-inherited pastime of bullfighting he considered cruel and degrading. Swimming tanks and baseball were his substitutes. In scores of little Maya villages he laid out baseball diamonds, and the bronzed urchins who in the old days would have been at work with their fathers cutting henequen leaves ran bases instead. "It will make them better men physically," he said, "but, far more important, they will grow up with

the understanding that every man has a right to recreation. It will be good for their bodies, but it will be even better for their souls."

He converted the foul penitentiary into a model trade school. "Protection of society from men who have offended has two aspects," he said. "Confining the offenders is the less important, because it is only temporary. The real task is to turn them back to society fitted to take their places in it as useful citizens. It is the prison system that is condemned—not the prisoner—if it fails to do this."

He called himself a Socialist, and over the buildings of the "leagues of resistance" which in every village served the newly emancipated citizens as a sort of combined ward club, night school, recreational centre and co-operative society for producer and consumer, the red flag flew. The Indians swore by it—the Mexican tricolor had been the ensign under which they had been enslaved. Ninety-five per cent. of Yucatan's population was happy for the first time in its history under what, despite names and symbols, was as close an approach to public unity as one finds anywhere on earth. It was a democracy in embryo.



Highway through a Yucatan village constructed during Governor Carrillo's régime



The road from Motul to Telchac, Yucatan

Carrillo's failure was literally due to the fact that he did not hate his enemies. Had he done so he would be alive today. How much of the great experiment he carried out depended on his unique personality; how much will survive, only the future will reveal. The enthronement of treason, in all probability, will be short-lived, and the "leagues of resistance"

which the rebels promptly declared illegal, and whose buildings they burned, are easily restorable. Though Carrillo himself can never be replaced, his work will endure. The wide and spacious roads that he blazed through Yucatan's jungles are symbols of those other roads which he opened up before his country—the humane and spiritual roads that lead to freedom.



A street in Merida, the capital of Yucatan

# THE NEW ERA OPENED BY THE BRITISH ELECTION

By E. D. MOREL

Member of the British House of Commons for Dundee; editor of Foreign Affairs (London); member of the Executive Committee of the British Parliamentary Labor Party and of the International Advisory Committee of the British Labor Party; Secretary of the Union of Democratic Control

*Causes that led to defeat of the Baldwin Government—Liberals' new lease of life—What the Labor Party aims to do with its new power—Rise of workers a blow to existing order in Great Britain*

THE general election which has just closed and created an unprecedented situation in British politics must appear something of a mystery to foreigners, as it does to many in England. Why should the Conservative Party, which had a comfortable majority in the House of Commons, have deliberately courted destruction when, in a party political sense, all it had to do was to sit tight? That its leaders did court destruction was apparent from the moment the decision was taken to precipitate us, *under existing circumstances*, into the throes of an electoral struggle on the tariff issue.

A generation had passed since Joseph Chamberlain returned from contemplating "the illimitable South African veldt" with the vision of a self-contained empire firmly fixed in his mind. The din of the Homeric combat that ensued with free trade liberalism had passed away, and with it the armory of comparative statistics with which the champions on either side belabored one another. Protection was not a live issue. Up-to-date arguments founded on the existing conditions of our trade had to be hurriedly prepared to furbish up an old controversy. The bearing which the new problems and the new situation created by the war and the "peace" might be estimated to have upon Great Britain's fiscal policy had not been studied. On this last all-important question the country was entirely in the dark. It suddenly found itself forced to consider, in a heated atmosphere, what is primarily an economic

problem of the greatest complexity, without the necessary facts before it upon which to pronounce judgment. With a preliminary course of education and preparation the British people might, perhaps, have been induced to give Mr. Baldwin's panacea a trial. But it was not to be expected that they would do so at a moment's notice, with nothing to go upon. Then, again, this panacea was presented in a most unattractive, vague and incomplete form. The protection offered was on the limited liability principle. No taxes on staple foods—thus protection was emasculated and "Colonial Preference" became an unreality. Manufactured articles were to be taxed, but no attempt was made to explain how and when an imported article was to be treated as manufactured, as partly manufactured and as raw material. No attempt was made to show by what magic process, if tariffs were successful in keeping out manufactured articles, the subsidy promised to agriculture out of the revenue produced by the tariff was to be raised. No attempt was made to explain why, if foreign competition in our home market were the chief cause of unemployment, unemployment should be infinitely more serious in those sections of our trade which produce for export. Above all, Mr. Baldwin himself never claimed that a tariff on imports would, or could, affect our unemployed problem in its immediate and immense urgency. His claim was, in effect, that a tariff would prevent the ranks of the unemployed from being still further swollen.

Throughout the election the Prime Minister's speeches were but a variation and extension of his original loose and general pronouncement in the House of Commons when he announced the dissolution. They contained nothing new. They held out no hope of early relief for our economic troubles. They threw not one solitary ray of light upon the intellectual processes which had brought the sudden conviction of a solution by way of tariffs to his mind, apart from the oft-repeated suggestion that Europe had passed beyond economic recuperation within a measurable space of time, and that the recovery of our Continental market must be relegated to the Greek Kalends. The Prime Minister satisfied no one. He split his party. Too honest to buy off the unscrupulous hostility of the Beaverbrook-Rothermere press combine; too honest to pretend that a tariff might not, at least for a time, raise prices; too timid or, again perhaps too honest, to go the whole length of protection, he had no solid support for his policy anywhere, and he infused a moribund liberalism with the one and only tonic which could have ensured its revival. In short, Mr. Baldwin asked the country to give him a blank check, and the country has refused to do so. He has probably committed political suicide, and the mystery of why he did so remains unexplained.

#### PROTECTIONISTS' INFLUENCE

Yet, like most mysteries, it is not very mysterious after all. There is no doubt as to what happened. The Imperial Conference acted as an intoxicant upon Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Stanley Bruce, the Australian Prime Minister, who is the greatest protagonist of a self-supporting British Empire, exercised considerable influence over his English colleagues. Mr. Baldwin has nothing of the jingo in his composition, but, dismayed by his inability to make any headway with the European situation, partly owing to the obstinacy of M. Poincaré and partly to the Germanophobe section of his followers, and in constant touch with members of his Cabinet who are protectionists and imperial preferentialists, such as Mr. Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Lloyd-Graeme, President of the Board of Trade—men of strong

personal ambitions—and Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who, like his brother Austen, is "the son of his father"), he seems to have fallen under the spell of his surroundings. In these circumstances he made a speech at Plymouth advocating the tariff as a cure for unemployment—a speech incautious in its phraseology and undoubtedly conveying more than he meant to convey. The protectionist section of the Cabinet took instant action. They urged that the Prime Minister had committed not merely himself in his personal capacity, but the Cabinet as well, and after a tough struggle within and without the Cabinet for Mr. Baldwin's political soul the protectionists secured the victory.

It is said, and I understand with truth, that Mr. Baldwin had reason to believe that our political chameleon, Mr. Lloyd George, whose free trade opinions, like his other opinions, are strictly governed by his reading of the political barometer, had worked out in conjunction with his crony, Lord Birkenhead, and others a scheme for imperial preference, which he intended to launch upon the country on his return from the United States. This information, accurate or otherwise, probably helped Mr. Baldwin to make up his mind. That he believed in his creed and in his power to convert the country is undeniable. One of his close friends remarked to me: "Baldwin is a straight man and he is not a weak man; but he is essentially a simple-minded man and has had little experience in great affairs." One need not, I think, look any further afield to find the key to this unexampled incident in our political annals. Many of those who disagree profoundly with Mr. Baldwin's views and rejoice that the protectionist bogey has been laid to rest for this generation at least will regret the weakening, if not the destruction, of a personal influence which, like that of his predecessor, Mr. Bonar Law, made for cleanliness and honest conviction in British politics.

The lessons to be derived from the result of the election are not only of national but of world importance. Let me examine some of the most pregnant of them.

As I have already pointed out, had Mr. Baldwin's tactics been expressly directed



Wide World Photos

Herbert Henry Asquith, former Prime Minister and now leader of the united Liberal forces of Great Britain, addressing a meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, during the election campaign in December, 1923. The following are seated in the front row next to the table, from left to right: Mrs. Asquith, Sir Edward Rhodes and C. P. Scott, Governing Director and Editor of The Manchester Guardian

to that end, he could not have given British liberalism a more unexpected chance of reassembling its scattered forces. An attack upon free trade was the one possible event which could have caused Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George to meet upon the same platform and "kiss again with tears." A reinstated Liberal Party entered the fight not only with high hopes, but undisguisedly confident that it would sweep the country, and if not returned in sufficient strength to form a Government independent of Conservatives or Labor, that it would, in any case, easily displace Labor as the official Opposition. The Liberal election war chest was copiously garnished. The party had powerful newspapers in its political service, one of them, The Manchester Guardian, running neck to neck with the now reformed Times as the

premier journal of England alike for its elevated treatment of public affairs, its integrity and the trustworthiness of its information. The upshot has been a tremendous shock to the Liberals, especially to the Lloyd George wing, which has lost its chief's two most powerful lieutenants, Sir Alfred Mond and Winston Churchill, who, having been unhorsed at Dundee by a member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Democratic Control [the writer of this article] last year, has again suffered defeat this year at the hands of a member of the General Council of that erstwhile despised organization, Mr. Petthick Lawrence, one of the chief protagonists of the capital levy. At the close of the last Parliament the two Liberal sections numbered 115 members (Asquithians "Liberal," 67; Lloyd Georgians "National Liberal," 48). As a result of this election they have gained only 40 more seats, while Labor, with a total of 191, remains the official Opposition with a majority of nearly 40 over the Liberals and the quasi-certainty of being able on most occasions to secure the support of the eight "Independents." This, of course, from whatever angle the event may be approached, is the outstanding phenomenon of the election, and yet something much more than that, as we shall presently see.

#### THE PARTY PROGRAMS

Meantime, a word as to the respective programs which the three parties put before the country: On foreign policy there was no difference between them, at least in theory. As parties all were in agree-

ment as to the paramount importance of a European settlement in the economic interests of Great Britain and the empire. But the Conservative Party offered a disunited front. It presented differing methods of ensuring that settlement in accordance with the views of its individual members. One section favored firmer action toward France and was critical of French policy; another section (following the lead of the Rothermere-Beaverbrook press combine) abused its leaders for their lukewarmness in supporting M. Poincaré (in popular phraseology, the "hats-off-to-France" brigade); while the majority contented itself with vague generalities. Of the Russian problem there was scarcely a mention, let alone the enunciation of a policy. The Liberal Party, strongly critical of French policy, was equally vigorous in its denunciation of the Government's weakness and incapacity, but stopped short at recommending a revision of the Treaty of Versailles—the Asquithian wing thereby paying the price of reunion with Mr. Lloyd George, the chief British author of the treaty. (During the last few months both Mr. Asquith and Sir John Simon, his chief lieutenant, have been imitating the Labor Party in demanding the revision of the treaty.) As to Russia, the Liberal program contented itself with a vague allusion to the desirability of more satisfactory relations with that country. On both these issues of foreign policy the Labor Party struck a clear note by demanding a world conference to revise the Treaty of Versailles and the *de jure* recognition of Russia.

As regards domestic policy, the ostensible issue raised by the Conservative program was unemployment. But Mr. Baldwin's specific, the tariff, for curing unemployment converted that ostensible issue into free trade versus protection. Yet, as I shall show directly, free trade versus protection was only in a limited degree the issue around which the real electoral battle raged. To the Conservative program the Liberals opposed their program—the maintenance of free trade. Apart from that, their domestic curatives contained nothing that could seize upon the imagination of the country. To all intents and purposes their attitude was the

somewhat negative one of defending a time-honored fiscal system against attack. The Labor program was entirely different, and as, I opine, it must have been next to impossible for the American public to form a clear idea of the domestic program of the Labor Party and of its attitude during the election, owing to the fact that the whole of the daily press and virtually the whole of the weekly press is hostile to Labor, there would seem to be a real need for emphasizing it here.

#### LABOR'S REMEDIES

From the first the Labor Party flatly declined to fight on a political battleground of its opponents' choosing. While declaring itself in favor of free trade, it refused to treat the protection versus free trade issue as the issue of the election. It declared the fiscal controversy to be irrelevant to the problem of unemployment in its present unparalleled proportions in the fourth Winter of its duration, with 1,300,000 registered unemployed, the true figures being nearer 1,750,000. It insisted that this problem in its various ramifications should be considered as one of national emergency and should be dealt with as such. Its program for dealing with it was the one it has been pressing upon successive Governments for the past two years, namely, the immediate initiation of a comprehensive scheme of public works of a productive character, to be met by the utilization of internal credits. This scheme as specified was to include a national housing project, an electrical power scheme, roadmaking on a large scale, the development and extension of existing internal waterways, afforestation and land reclamation. Apart from the nationalization of mines, railways and internal transport and kindred proposals, which form an integral part of the Labor Party's policy, the Labor program repeated the demand of last year for a war debt redemption levy ("capital levy") on individual fortunes exceeding £5,000, based upon the Board of Inland Revenue's report for dealing with war fortunes called for but not adopted by the Coalition Government in 1920.

This demand was made the chief target of the Conservative and Liberal

Parties' electoral shafts and gave rise, as the election proceeded, to a really extraordinary situation. Wherever local conditions permitted, the Conservative and Liberal caucuses, acting in unison, prevented three-cornered fights between Conservative, Liberal and Labor candidates by withdrawing either the Conservative or Liberal candidate, as the case might be, and by bidding both Liberals and Conservatives to vote for whichever candidate of these two parties was selected, in order to prevent the Labor candidate getting returned. The local daily press, invariably either Liberal or Conservative, as Labor has no daily paper in the provinces or in Scotland or Wales, took, of course, the same line. Thus, over a great part of the electoral field the amazing spectacle was witnessed of electors sincerely believing that the country was "going to the dogs"

under free trade, being, nevertheless, instructed to vote for a Liberal free trader, in order to keep the Labor man out; or of electors sincerely believing that the country would be ruined if protection was adopted, being instructed to vote for a Conservative protectionist candidate—with the same end in view! In my own constituency, Dundee, which returns two members, each candidate having two votes, both of which he may not use for the same candidate, and there being five candidates for the two seats in the field, over 13,000 votes were cast by Liberal free traders for the Conservative protectionist candidate and an equal number by Conservative protectionists for the Liberal free trader candidate! There can, I think, be no doubt at all that these tactics, new to our political life and savoring of unabashed corruption, disgusted a large body

of unlisted voters and were, in fact, responsible for the remarkable successes of Labor at the polls, successes which went far beyond the most sanguine expectations of the party's adherents.

#### RISE OF THE LABOR PARTY

This brings me to the central revelation of the power of the Labor Party in British politics as disclosed by this election, a power which has been steadily developing during the past twenty years and which is very far from having attained its full strength. In 1900 the Labor Party had nine elected representatives in the House of Commons, representing 118,003 votes. In December, 1923, it sent 191 elected representatives to Parliament, with a total poll of 4,348,379 votes. The variety of its composition may be estimated by the fact that its 191 members of Parliament include miners, engineers, teachers, journalists, farmers, builders, doctors, textile workers, clergymen, lawyers and metal workers. Its strength lies partly in the fact that each of its Parliamentary



Wide World Photos

#### DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

The former British Prime Minister making a speech in London during the recent election campaign in which his efforts are credited with having materially aided the Liberals to regain many seats in the House of Commons. A microphone was hung in front of him so that many thousands of people outside the building might hear him

representatives is an expert in his own line; partly in this very catholicity of occupation and knowledge; partly in the truth, which will not be contested by its fair-minded political opponents, that it is something bigger and broader than a mere political machine. The Labor movement is wrongly represented abroad as a narrow class movement. In the conception of its leaders and, speaking generally, of its rank and file, it is nothing of the kind.

Mr. Asquith's pronouncement at the National Liberal Club (made since the foregoing was written) placed beyond reasonable doubt that Mr. Baldwin would receive no Liberal support when Parliament reassembled in January and that the Labor Party's amendment to the address, unless framed in such a way as to provoke Liberal hostility, would be supported by the votes of the Liberal Party, which meant that the Conservative Government would be defeated on a motion of want of confidence and must at once resign. Mr. Baldwin, following constitutional precedent, would then advise the King to send for Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald as leader of the second strongest political party in the State. A Labor Ministry would automatically follow. This was the most likely hypothesis, but one could not be sure of anything as things were, and an eleventh-hour manoeuvre between the old parties to prevent Labor taking office was thought by some to be not wholly outside the realm of possibility. Personally, I did not anticipate it.

#### LABOR LEADER'S DECISION

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's decision to take office, if called upon, was arrived at only after careful thought and exploration of all the possibilities. Not even his enemies would accuse him of being a vulgar office seeker. In such respects he stands above the turmoil. Mr. Macdonald is a man of very high ideals, of courage, singleness of purpose and vision. Probably no man is more keenly aware that power acts but too frequently as a corrosive to the finer instincts; or, at best, blunts and stultifies them. As Prime Minister he would be in a position replete with social difficulties and would-be entanglements which no foreign observer unacquainted

with the subtleties woven around court influence, the traditional institution of "patronage" and the "pull" of Society (with a capital S) can adequately estimate. The old ruling class of Britain is the ablest in the world. It seldom goes in for frontal attacks; it seeks to bind, to paralyze by a thousand invisible threads, rather than roughly to break; not to oppose or suborn openly, but to undermine. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and the Labor Party as a whole, however, possess unexpected powers of resistance to the calculations which are even now being made.

It is noteworthy that the Labor leader's determination to take office was unanimously endorsed by every branch of the movement. Not less remarkable was the spirit in which the decision was taken—not with impulsive enthusiasm or vain-glorious boasting, but with a sobriety and sense of responsibility deeply impressive and with an acuteness of perception of all the pitfalls and the risks. Important, too, was the absolute blank check given to the leader to construct his own Government as he pleased. His eventual decisions may be silently queried, even disapproved; he cannot hope to please every one; but I doubt if his choice in any particular case, when it is made known, will be openly challenged by any section of the movement. I can conceive of only one possible exception to that prediction. There is something that is strikingly characteristic of Macdonald. He is an intensely human person socially, but in public affairs, when decisions have to be taken, remote, reserved, aloof, his mind read by not even his closest intimates.

If Labor is about to rule over Britain, the Government will differ from every Government which has preceded it. In the full expression of the principles which inspire it, it will be gravely handicapped by the actions of its predecessors and by the precariousness of its Parliamentary position. But the problems of the homeland, of the Commonwealth and of foreign policy alike, it will approach from an altogether new angle. It will have behind it the pick of the manual workers; the organized trade unions; the fervid, crusading knight-errantry of the Independent Labor Party, which is the inspiring flame of the whole movement. It will have be-



Wide World Photos

**SIR JOHN SIMON**

One of the most distinguished leaders of the British Liberals and Mr. Asquith's chief lieutenant. Born on Feb. 28, 1873, he entered the Cabinet in 1913 as Attorney General, later becoming Home Secretary. In Liberal circles Sir John Simon is strongly favored as the next leader of the party, and for that reason he is regarded as having an excellent chance of becoming the Prime Minister of a future Liberal Government.

hind it very large numbers of men and women entirely unconnected by birth or occupation with the manual working class as such but who have identified themselves with the workers' aspirations and claims, who are morally and intellectually attracted by the ideals, national and international, of the Labor Party and whom the word "Socialism" no longer frightens. It will have the furious and terrified opposition of the vast majority of the very wealthy, of the press trusts, of a section of the financial and business world—a section only—and of a mass of extraordinarily ill-informed opinion, to which "Socialism," as interpreted by the British Labor Party, is indistinguishable from Bolshevism and means the end of everything—King, empire, home, property, individual freedom, and so forth—a terror without justification, but sedulously propagated by those who have interest in propagating it. On the other hand, the unquestioned loyalty, and in many cases the warm support, of the civil services is assured to it, a fact of notable importance. A new chapter in British history opens. I may be excused perhaps for believing that that which will be written in it will leave its impress for good upon Britain and upon the world.

It would take too much space to attempt a detailed diagnosis of the combination of causes explanatory of the swiftness with which this epoch-making event in our history has been brought about. But as to the main cause there can be no manner of doubt whatever. The chief characteristic which has distinguished the British people as political animals has been faith in authority and tradition. A stubborn independence and a dogged, systematic struggle for personal liberty did not impair this faith. It has persisted despite all constitutional modifications throughout the centuries.

The last five years have shaken this faith to its very foundations. The active agent of the change has been the war, or rather the aftermath of the war. The war came as a terrific surprise to the mass of the British people. The surprise was so complete as to favor, from the official point of view, dangerous reactions, if any explanation of the catastrophe which should be at once simple and comprehensive were not instantly forthcoming. The

"German plot" was invented and developed with amazing ingenuity and resourcefulness. The ambitions and acts of Czarist Russia, the longing and plottings of the "revanche" school in France, the eleventh-hour admission of concealment of essential facts from the nation—all this was swept aside in the emotion caused by the seeming revelation of a gigantic conspiracy against the world's peace. The whole course of a precedent, quarter of a century's history, was sponged from the nation's mental horizon.

#### A MISLED PEOPLE

When the mass of the British people were told by the statesmen of the orthodox parties in the State (both guilty of concealing the truth from them since 1906), by their newspapers, by their priests and historians, that the German barbarian, after forty years of careful preparation, had suddenly flung himself without provocation upon a peaceful Europe, they actually believed it. When they were told that their valor was appealed to for the purpose of saving Europe from his fell design, they actually believed it. When they were told that their Government's aims were those of "purest chivalry" and contained no trace of self-seeking or imperialist designs, they actually believed it. When they were told, as the war lengthened out its dreadful months and years, that their sacrifices would be useless unless by an annihilating victory they could insure the supreme aim of their Government—an enduring peace, relief from the burden of armaments, the final ending of war as an institution—they actually believed it. When they were told that the result of this annihilating victory would be such as to remedy the social injustices from which the majority of them suffer; that the perpetuation of slumland, of uninhabitable dwellings, of low wages, of insecurity in industry, of divorce from the land, of starvation conditions for millions would not be tolerated, they actually believed it. Their ingrained faith in authority was such that they did really credit these assurances.

The last five years have enlightened the British people. They have long ceased

to believe in the "German plot." The secret treaties, the "peace" (although they supported it, not being then undeceived), the post-war disclosures of Czarist Russia's pre-war part in preparing the cataclysm, the revelation of French post-war policy—the complete failure of every promise and pledge to materialize, nationally and internationally—have accomplished a revolution in thought. The mass of the British people have seen huge war fortunes amassed and escape taxation, but the poor becoming steadily poorer; three hundred thousand favored individuals adding £3,000,000,000, through the war, to their personal fortunes, but the wages of 8,000,000 British workingmen reduced by a like amount in the last four years; a monument to the "Unknown Soldier," but an altar for the profiteer; wreaths upon a cenotaph, but incense in the shape of titles and emoluments heaped upon the hosts of "big business"; riotous luxury on every side, but slumland extending, "homes for heroes" still unbuilt, and workhouses bursting with a flood of new-made paupers; "prosperity," which the peace was to have brought, interpreted in nearly a couple of million unemployed; "security," which the peace was to have achieved, interpreted by increased military expenditure; British diplomacy seemingly powerless in the face of a wrecking policy by that "wantonly attacked" France—a policy which has driven hundreds of thousands of British workingmen upon the streets and which keeps them there. Failure at home, failure abroad, collapse of all hopes, every assurance unfulfilled.

This is what the mass of the British people perceive, and, perceiving it, their inherent and traditional faith in authority *qua* authority has crumbled. Dimly it may be as yet, but instinctively, they conclude that the Old Order has broken down. The old weapons have proved worthless. The old personnel has proved incapable. The old parties have proved both dishonest, corrupt and incompetent. The old system stands condemned. It cannot deliver the goods. That is the deep, underlying cause of the new chapter in the history of the British State which is heralded by the general election and the opening paragraph of which is about to be written.

# PROGRAM OF THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Author of "The Larger Aspect of Socialism," "Progressivism and After," "Sovietism" and other works

*Moderation only a cloak for the real purposes of the British Labor Party—British extremist influence on Socialist International—Menace to European peace if allowed to control foreign policy*

THE British Labor Party is Socialist through and through. Every one of the 192 "Labor" members of Parliament is solemnly pledged and bound to Socialism. As a Socialist party and a member of the Socialist International it has and can have no really moderate element. Anybody who says or writes that the British Labor Party has within it any important moderate element is either uninformed or self-deceived. Some Socialists may be less revolutionary than others; none can be moderate, as that expression is commonly used. If there is by chance any truly moderate leader in the British Labor Party, he has foresworn himself in signing the constitution and he has deceived his comrades.

When Lloyd George and Asquith said in their election manifesto that the Labor Party stood in the election not only for the Socialistic "capital levy" but for "Socialism" itself, they spoke the literal and exact truth. The dominant faction of the Labor Party, the so-called I. L. P. (Independent Labor Party)—a faction which contains nearly all the so-called moderates—declares in its address that "this election contest is between Socialism and Capitalism." The Labor Party itself used a slightly different expression—a synonym for Socialism employed by every Socialist since Karl Marx—the "Co-operative Commonwealth." The Labor Party, it declared, is working for a "commonwealth of co-operative service." In the special election number of the official monthly magazine, Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party, explains exactly what is meant:

It is Labor's aim to establish a commonwealth of co-operative service. We stand for a policy which

will apply the principle of public ownership step by step to the vital industries and services which are essential to the national life, beginning with the mines, the railways, and the electrical power supply stations, and proceeding step by step to apply the principles in other fields of activity.

Regular employment for the producers by hand and brain, steady wages at a high level, are two demands upon which we have to insist pending the thoroughgoing transformation of the economic system which will follow the application of the Labor principles of public ownership and control to the whole enterprise of producing and distributing wealth. And these are the grounds upon which the organized workers everywhere are called upon to support the Labor Party in this election.

The Labor Party has been a Socialist organization for years and it has been getting steadily more radical since 1917. Its radicalism reached a climax last Summer. The official party press service said in July that the party had "nailed the red flag to the mast," when the party leader, Macdonald, openly named his organization in Parliament "the Labor and Socialist Party," and an all but unanimous party (only one deserter!) voted in Parliament for Philip Snowden's out-and-out 100 per cent. Socialist resolution calling for a new social order based on "the public ownership and democratic control of the instruments of production and exchange."

Nobody supposes that the British Socialist-Laborites represent the same brand of revolutionary philosophy as the Communists of Moscow and their "Third International," or even the Marxian Socialists or Syndicalists of Continental Europe. It has been said that one or two of the leaders are, at bottom, merely advanced "Liberals," free trade and pacifist extremists, who favor the Liberal foreign policy and



MISS MARGARET BONDFIELD

Elected to the British House of Commons as a Labor member in December, 1923. Earlier in the year she was chosen as Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, being the first woman to hold that position

the Lloyd George program of social reform.

#### DECEPTIVE MODERATION

Sidney Webb, the party's chief academic authority, is making an especially strenuous effort to keep alive the reputation of the Labor Party for moderation. Speaking as Chairman at the party's last congress he dropped a broad hint that all its new and advanced doctrines had been accepted with the knowledge that they could *not* be put soon into effect—and perhaps because of that knowledge. "How," he asked, "any one can fear that the British electorate can ever go too far or too fast is incomprehensible to me. That, indeed, is the supremely valuable safeguard of any effective democracy." We are here led to believe that the Labor Party may have adopted its thoroughly revolutionary program merely to offset the stolidity of the electorate, the result intended being middle-of-the-road constructive reform.

Other positions taken by the party—upon superficial observation—might appear to verify this supposition, as when

Webb pointed out that the party claimed the co-operative movement as "an integral part of Socialism itself." The same claim is made concerning the movement for municipal ownership. Both these movements are thoroughly moderate. Nor is there anything socialistic in some of the party's demands as formulated by Henderson: "an adequate minimum standard of comfort for the workers," "a fairer distribution of wealth," "an effective voice for the workers in determining the conditions of employment" and "a greater share in the control of industry." Here are radical principles which if carried to their logical conclusion would mean very great social change. *But they are not revolutionary; they do not imply "the replacing of an old by a new social order."* They are principles held by organized labor the world over—even the most "conservative"—and by other large social groups.

When we have said this it is about all that can be said for the "moderation" of the British Socialist and Labor Party as it stands today. The party is bidding for, and securing, support by solemnly and deliberately pledging itself to the most thoroughgoing Socialist principles and measures. The sole compromise it has consented to is that it does not intend to use revolutionary methods to bring about its revolutionary aims.

Radicals and advanced "liberals" the world over are wildly enthusiastic for the British Labor Party precisely because they know it to be a Socialist party. Their enthusiasm dates from the middle of the war, when the Labor Party put forth its revolutionary Program of Social Reconstruction, called for a *new social order* to be established after the war, and asserted that this—and not any minor reform—was its goal.

The swinging of the Labor Party into revolutionary socialism by the I. L. P. did not take place this year, nor did it begin during the war. The progress has been steady in that direction since 1900 (and before). But the war and the recent electoral successes of the I. L. P.—a non-labor-union intellectual sect—have more than counterbalanced any moderating tendencies.

The set debate on Socialism held last Summer in the House of Commons and the almost simultaneous congress of the Labor Party leave no doubt that the party's sudden growth — and especially the successes of its Left Wing — have intensified and accelerated the "swing to the Left" that began in 1917, in the middle of the war. The Labor Party was originally organized by the Socialist or Left Wing and a large or controlling share of the offices has always been in its hands. This organizing group, known as the I. L. P., stipulated from the first that it be allowed the privilege of forming a *separate party* (the so-called Independent Labor Party) within the Labor Party. During the war the same group pledged the larger party to a more extreme and revolutionary form of pacifism than can be found in any other large Socialist organization in the world. Next, largely through this pacifism, it tightened the bonds it had already built up between the Labor Party and the revolutionary Socialist parties and "internationals" of the Continent. And, finally, making use of these movements and the fervor caused by the war, it led the Labor

Party into the outright adoption of Socialism and the demand for "a new social order."

#### THE I. L. P. INFLUENCE

In November, 1922, when 142 Labor and Socialist candidates were elected to Parliament, the I. L. P. found that it had eighty members present — an amazing and significant situation, in view of the fact that it can muster only 2 or 3 per cent. of the party membership. It proceeded at once to put in its chief, J. Ramsay MacDonald, as Chairman and "leader" of the Labor and Socialist group in Parliament, ousting the Labor Unionist, J. R. Clynes, by a vote of 61 to 57. Last Summer MacDonald succeeded Sidney Webb, one of the handful of intellectuals not members of the I. L. P., as party Chairman. This is typical. In all national and international committees appointed by the Labor Party the I. L. P. is supreme, and I. L. P. resolutions are put through the party congresses by crushing majorities — the occasional opposition of the best known labor-union leaders, the so-called moderates, Clynes, Henderson and Thomas, counting for nothing. Last year the I. L. P. had forty out of a total of about forty-four intellectuals (i. e., non-labor unionists) among the Labor Party M. P.'s. The four others, including Webb, are only a shade less radical.

The constitution of the Labor-and-Socialist Party declares for "*the common ownership of the means of production.*" Henderson, speaking for the party in Parliament, after reading this clause, said that "it was upon this constitution" that 2,300,000 votes were won in 1918 and 4,250,000 in 1922. Clynes, the so-called moderate, stated on the same occasion that the party's aim was the owning and controlling by the people of "*land, mines, railways, industries, the great producing agencies, the great distributing channels.*" All the other "moderates," including the entire Labor-and-Socialist delegation of 144 M. P.'s (with one exception) thereupon voted for the party's official resolution demanding that 100 per cent. Socialism be declared as the policy of Parliament.

When so-called moderates talk like this, and the party is so nearly unanimous in



TOM SHAW

Labor member of the British House of Commons, Secretary of the International Congress of Textile Workers and prominent in many international Labor and Socialist activities

its Socialism, it is a gross deception to speak, as does a large part of the British and American press, as if there were nothing revolutionary about the party except its most advanced extremists. And when Sidney Webb speaks to uninformed Americans about the Labor Party's "Socialism," using quotation marks, he may be expressing his own hope and belief, but he is reversing the plain facts.

It is no concession whatever when the party says that "nationalization would be achieved by degrees and not by any

sweeping changes" and proposes in its election manifesto to begin with railways, mines and electric power. Backed by only 30 per cent. of the electorate—and by 192 out of 615 members of Parliament—it will do nothing but what the Liberals may allow it to do. The question is, what will this Labor-and-Socialist Party do if it can? What does it teach its 5,000,000 voters? It teaches Socialism, and it is absolutely clear that it would introduce Socialism within a very few years if it had the power.

"Socialism" is a scheme for the organization of society on a collective basis, said Henderson last Summer in Parliament, and the official Labor press service reports that cordial cheers from the Labor benches greeted him when he added that this was "*the position on which Labor would conduct the next election.*"

This was the deliberate and official announcement of the party secretary, speaking in the name of the party, before the country. And in all the intervening months the party lived up to its pledge. Its appeal to the electorate was upon the basis of Socialism. Not only were its thousands of meetings and all its publications devoted largely to Socialism, but Socialism was the main issue in the house-to-house canvass it conducted throughout the length and breadth of Great Britain. The official press service describes this "Autumn campaign" as having been especially active before the December elections were announced. One alone of the party's hundreds of speakers, Arthur Henderson, had addressed more than fifty meetings within sixty days.

#### ATTITUDE ON INTERNATIONALISM

It is largely through its relations with Continental European labor, long organized, drilled and disciplined by Socialist intellectuals, that the British Socialist sects have secured their present mastery over British labor.

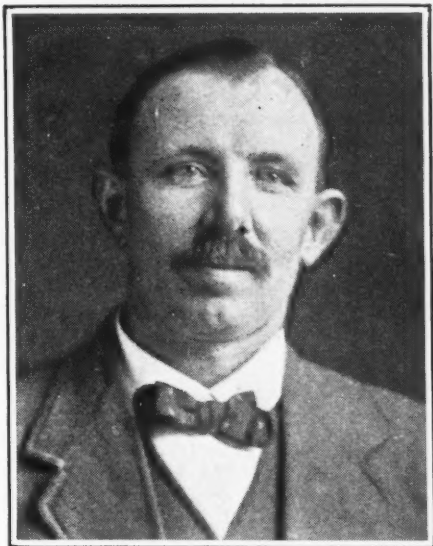
The foundations of the newly reorganized Socialist and Labor International were laid at the International Pacifist Congress held at The Hague in December, 1922, under the auspices of the Socialist International Federation of Trade Unions. This congress included also the *political* Social-



Wide World Photos.

#### MISS SUSAN LAWRENCE

One of the prominent figures in the British Labor movement and a newly elected member of the House of Commons for East Ham North, an electoral district in the east of London. She is here seen speaking from the platform on a barrow which she used during the campaign



JAMES HENRY THOMAS

Born Oct. 3, 1878; since 1910 a Labor member of the British House of Commons, he occupies an important position as General Secretary of the National Union of Railway Men

ist and Labor Parties, other revolutionary pacifists, and even representatives of the Soviets camouflaged as trade unionists.

The Hague congress, led by the British "intellectuals" (i. e. non-labor-unionists), endorsed the proposed international insurrection in case of war, known as the international general strike, as it had already been organized by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Mild criticisms offered by a few British trade union leaders like Henderson and the bitter protests of Jouhaux, the French labor union leader, and of Vandervelde of Belgium, against using the insurrectionary strike against defensive war were brushed aside. British labor, on record for the international strike against "any war entered into by any Government, whatever the ostensible object of the war," swung the whole International to its view.

The very invitations to the first congress of the reorganized Socialist and Labor International that followed six months later at Hamburg were based upon the acceptance of this resolution of "The Hague World Peace Conference." From the setting up of an international body to execute these plans for revolution under certain

contingencies against all Governments, it was but a short step for the Hamburg congress to endow the Socialist and Labor International with an authority higher than that of any Government and to declare that "*in conflicts between nations the International shall be recognized as the highest authority*" and that every one of its resolutions shall be accepted as a "self-imposed limitation on the autonomy of affiliated organizations!" Nothing less than the setting up of a revolutionary Socialist supernatural authority!

Sidney Webb assures us that with the Communism of Soviet Russia his party has refused to have any connection. This is a half-truth. The British Socialist Laborites have refused to compromise with the Communists in England. But in return for this they have done about everything they could do to help along the Communists in Russia and to aid the pro-Soviet propaganda in England and throughout the world. It is just as if they had proposed a tacit understanding to Lenin and his associates: "You keep your efforts to Bolshevize British labor within bounds and we will give our moral support to your dictatorship over Russian labor."

The British Labor Party leaders are fully aware of the nature of the Soviet despotism. British Socialist and Labor leaders have repeatedly visited Soviet Russia, and the statements they issued on their return have shown that they fully realize the situation. Henderson has said: "I was there during the revolution and I could see that Bolshevism is oppression, violence, terror, and *nothing else*." Macdonald called the Soviet régime "destructive and reactionary." Wallhead, Chairman of the I. L. P., said that the Third International was a "body that does not represent the Russian people and has nothing to do with them." Karl Kautsky, the world's leading Socialist writer, who, as a German and a neighbor, has studied Russia for fifty years, has written in the official Labor Party magazine that the dictators who now rule Russia are "robber bands" who have "oppressed and enslaved" its working people.

#### SYMPATHY WITH SOVIETISM

There is, then, no lack of information or understanding of the Russian situation.

But so revolutionary is the spirit of the "pacifist" intellectuals now ruling the party that they do not permit anything short of the most vigorous support of the Soviets. Macdonald may never have defended Bolshevism, but "he has given the Bolsheviki all the advantages of a defense by attacking its attackers." Soviet propaganda takes up as large a space as it ever did in Labor Party publications, while editorials in *The London Daily Herald* repeat ceaselessly the claim that "the Russian people" have accepted Soviet rule, that the Bolshevik revolution is "hopeful and healthy," and so forth. The press and publicity department of the party is under the chairmanship of George Lansbury, who was the pro-Soviet and near-Communist editor of the party organ, *The Daily Herald*, at the time it took a plebiscite on accepting \$350,000 from the Soviets—the publicity coming *after* an exposure by the British Government.

Even when the Socialists of the entire Continent of Europe, including the most revolutionary, assembled last Summer at Hamburg, passed a resolution denouncing the Bolshevik "terror and dictatorship," the British delegation of thirty solidly refused to vote for it. The British gave as their reason for refusing to sign that this would be a "moral intervention of the international proletariat in the home affairs of Russia." Yet the "international proletariat," especially its violent pacifist wing, intervenes morally and tries to intervene practically at every opportunity—against reaction in Hungary, to prevent the Poles from preserving their country against the Soviets, against Mussolini, and so on.

This revolutionary pacifism has of late taken several further turns toward violence and war. The Laborites go as far as any British jingo in their denunciation of the French; so far that some of their own members have declared they are making for war. Both the Labor organs, *Justice* and *Forward*, have pointed to the anti-French bellicosity of much of the current Labor and Socialist speech and writing:

The declarations of our labor leaders, the tone and temper of *The Nation*, *The New Statesman* and *The Leader* are not pacifist, and unless we are careful there will be a débâcle in the

Labor and Socialist movement if and when our capitalist Governors blow the whistle for an anti-French war.

The transition from this point to actual revolutionary militarism—already prepared for in the British Laborite pacifists' moral support of the Soviets and their Red Army—is easy and inevitable. So we find Macdonald, in the recent Labor Party Congress, speaking of a possible "war situation" in which Labor would surely fight and in the same breath mentioning the fact that "recent events had brought *the French people* into most intimate contact, of an almost semi-hostile character, with ourselves." Henderson was still more outspoken: Was there a member in that audience who did not disagree with France? Not one. But if France continued in the frame of mind she was now in, had they to overlook the possibilities of defense? Henderson did not explain just what he proposed to defend, but the colossal agitation of his party on behalf of Germany in the Ruhr makes it clear that he referred to a possible war to "defend" British-German interests on the Continent. The strong anti-French policy of Premier Baldwin and Lord Curzon before the elections was not strong enough to suit the Socialist Laborites. The party's official monthly (election number) accuses the British Government of "criminal weakness" in this regard!

#### OPPOSITION TO VERSAILLES TREATY

While making—subconsciously, no doubt—for war, the Socialist-Laborites leave no stone unturned to overthrow the existing international order, just as they propose as their main domestic objective the overthrow of the existing national order. They did not dare to vote against the Versailles Treaty when it was before Parliament, but they have become more and more violent against it until the wildness of their opposition is hardly to be distinguished from that of the Soviets. As a well-known British Liberal publicist (P. W. Wilson) writes: "There is a considerable number of persons who read this or that 'disclosure' by the Russian Soviets and agree with J. R. Macdonald, E. D. Morel and John Burns and the pacifists that after all there was fault on both sides



Wide World Photos

## DAVID KIRKWOOD

Member for Dumbarton (Scotland) in the British House of Commons. At the election in December, 1923, he was successful with 13,472 votes, against his Conservative opponent's 8,520. He belongs to the revolutionary wing of the British Labor movement. He was the chief shop steward of the Beardmore works in the early months of the war, and a leading member of the Clyde Workers' Committee, which organized a succession of strikes. He and nine others were deported from the Clyde district in 1916. During the Parliament elected in November, 1922, he figured prominently in some stormy scenes in the House of Commons and was suspended by the Speaker

and that Germany was more sinned against than sinning."

The I. L. P. organ, *The New Leader*, urges that unless France forthwith accepts Great Britain's terms, the latter must proceed to denounce "the entire settlement of Versailles" — a proposition which, however natural in the mouth of Ludendorff and Lenin, is rather stupefying as coming from a pacifist. It should not need the authority of a Liberal and genuine pacifist like Lord Grey to make it clear that "the sanctity of treaties is the foundation of peace." But this is not all. The British Government is urged to issue at once to

France what would be nothing less than an ultimatum. "It must boldly *require* the evacuation of the Ruhr!"

If, as the Laborites say now, Germany was no more responsible than other countries for the war, the whole case for reparations falls. If the treaty is unsound in so far as it was forced upon Germany, there is left of it only what Germany, freed from all compulsion, would voluntarily undertake. If even the territorial clauses of the treaty are questioned — because "imposed by violence" — what is left of the new European international order? Yet that is exactly the position taken by the Socialist and Labor International, under British "pacifist" leadership, at the Hamburg congress.

The Labor Party defends and sympathizes with the thoroughly armed and truculent Soviets, but is violently hostile to every other country, however situated, that must defend itself by arms. Not only the Polish but the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Socialists and labor unionists complain that the British Labor Party and the "International" it operates with the aid of the Germans are outright enemies of their countries, working not only to destroy the treaties to which they owe their existence as nations, but trying to disarm them in the face of terrible and unprincipled foes like the Soviets, the Turks, the Hungarians, not to mention the German reactionaries.

The foreign policy of the British Labor-and-Socialist Party has now become a matter of moment, no matter how negative and destructive it may be. It favors the League of Nations, but only if Germany and the Soviets are invited. If unrepentant Germany and the Soviets are not in, it proposes to ignore the League and favors instead international economic and disarmament conferences, with Germany and the Soviets invited. But the attendance of France is not indispensable at these conferences! As one of the party leaders, Roden Buxton, recently explained in the official monthly, "a conference of Governments must be brought about whether France attends or not," and the Versailles Treaty must be revised also without France! Macdonald, using similar reasoning, says "America had the very best reasons for declining to enter the League of Nations."

The British Labor Party has become so frankly and openly partisan in European affairs that it is a fair question whether aggressive British nationalism will not find there its strongest support. The fact that this party claims, and no doubt believes, that it speaks in the name of internationalism and pacifism, enlarges its following at home and abroad. If it upholds, as it increasingly does, British commercial and industrial interests abroad, supplying new idealist reasons for so doing; if it attacks the same foreign nation that the British Tory and Liberal Imperialists attack, accusing it exactly as they do, of being "too strong" economically and militarily, thus embracing the thousand-year-old British policy of holding "dangerous" Continental nations back by maintaining a balance of power among them and then directing the destinies of Europe by acting as arbiter when the conflict thus encouraged reaches an acute stage; if in foreign affairs, following its custom in home affairs, it is more extreme, violent and aggressive than anybody else, while supplying far bolder and more popular reasons, then it becomes one of the chief factors working for increasing animosity between the nations, aggravating the danger of war and prolonging the sufferings of Europe. MacDonald has already openly advocated this "balance of power policy" which even many imperialists nowadays endorse only behind closed doors.

#### IMPERIALIST AIMS

The British Labor-and-Socialist Party may some day take a new direction. At present, by its own testimony, it is headed in the direction of more or less peaceful social revolution at home and a by no means peaceful revolution in international relations. The importance of this truth arises from the fact that is so widely denied — the past reputation of the party for moderation (formerly half deserved), leaving even conservative doors wide open for the insinuating high priests of the "Laborites," H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw and others. It is forgotten that these men have again and again written themselves down as nothing more nor less than revolutionary Socialists. There is no reason

whatever why anybody who wants to get at the truth about the Labor Party should pay any attention to the testimony either of its avowed leaders or of its most fanatical literary promoters. There are the facts.

We have seen what is the aim of the Labor-Socialists. What they will do depends on circumstances beyond their control. Obviously they may be forced to action or inaction directly counter to their principles and their program. Unfortunately the two questions are often confused and the party is credited with the intention of yielding willingly to reason, when, as a matter of fact, it is planning to yield unwillingly to force.

The British Labor Party represents approximately 30 per cent. of the British electorate, after including in our estimate uncontested Parliamentary seats for which exact figures are not obtainable. Its voting strength is almost exactly that of the Liberals, possibly slightly less. But the 70 per cent. that voted against the Labor Party are not merely opposed to it in the ordinary political sense; they are, in overwhelming majority, bitter and absolute opponents of its entire Socialist doctrine and program. The Liberals and not the Labor-Socialists hold the balance of power as they have the middle ground. A 30 per cent. extremist party cannot represent a major force in the life of any nation.

If the Labor and Socialist Party is nominally to hold power for a day, that will be entirely due to merely formal anomalies of the British Constitution and not to the fact that they have, or can have, any large measure of real power. They will have been put there and they will stay there wholly upon the sufferance of the Liberals. What they do or fail to do must be credited mainly, if not entirely, to the Lloyd George-Asquith party. For example, they may enact a broad program of public works to deal with unemployment. If they do it will be almost wholly the Liberal program on that overshadowing domestic question. I have compared the two programs of unemployment and at most points they are identical. Where they differ the Liberal decision will have to be accepted.

The anomaly of the politically weakest of the three British parties holding an ap-

parently nominal power, even for a moment, has one grave and immediate danger for England and for the world. *It leaves the Liberal Party with power but without responsibility* and it invites the more adventurous elements of that party to take full advantage of the opportunity. There are political leaders among the Liberals disposed to exploit the international situation for party purposes quite as much as the Labor Party itself. And their connection with international financiers and concession-holding or concession-hunting capitalists is notorious. Lloyd George's faction has been openly financed and supported in large part by these elements. The London Morning Post has pointed out that the Laborites and the international financiers are nearly always in agreement; the Lloyd George faction has consistently and invariably represented their viewpoint.

#### POSITION OF THE LIBERALS

Now here is the immediate danger, a danger the gravity of which cannot be overstated: Under the British Constitution and tradition, any Government, no matter how temporary, does have a con-

siderable power in foreign affairs even without consulting Parliament. Parliament must be consulted, but only from time to time, and sometimes after the event. This will permit the Lloyd George Liberals, if they can dominate the party, to leave the Laborites in power long enough to launch certain extreme and aggressive foreign policies which they want to see launched, but for which they do not desire to have the responsibility. We have only to look in the direction of Germany and Russia, and to remember the aggressive and revolutionary violence of the Labor Party's foreign policy to see what this danger means.

This is only one situation, a situation that has already arisen, that proves what may happen through the rise toward power of an essentially revolutionary party, especially in the complicated field of international relations, where such sinister and devious forces are at work, and where the delicate balance that keeps the world from another war may be any moment upset. It is a critical time for an aggressive Socialist party to be, even momentarily, in control of the machinery of government of a great power.



# TANGIBLE GAINS FROM THE VERSAILLES PEACE

By DENYS P. MYERS

Corresponding Secretary the World Peace Foundation

*Versailles Treaty, not in accord with facts, should be reconsidered—Some parts now a dead letter—Failure to punish "war criminals"—The reparations tangle*

THE Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, became effective on Jan. 10, 1920, and has now, therefore, been in operation four years. With the lapse of time the World War has become more heroic; the peace, on the contrary, less so. That is always the fate of peace treaties; the reputation of the wars which they ended improves with age, while the documents that mark the victory continually decline in the esteem of history. The Napoleonic wars, for instance, are in better odor today than the Peace of Vienna which terminated them. That is merely human nature, for war's duration being limited, it is subject to coloration by the roseate tints of memory, whereas succeeding generations have to live with the peace. Human nature finding the coming day's work harder than that of yesterday, complains of what it has. On the whole, that is a healthy sign, since dissatisfaction brings improvement. But it is also important to know what we have, and an inventory of the Versailles peace as it begins its fifth year of active operation is needed.

The Paris Conference produced five separate treaties of peace of which the Versailles document was the first and the pattern. Of the others, one, the Treaty of Sèvres, signed Aug. 10, 1920, was a complete failure and was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923. The Treaty of Neuilly, Nov. 27, 1919, with Bulgaria, went into force two years ago and has worked with reasonable smoothness. The Treaty of Trianon, June 4, 1920, with Hungary, be-

came effective July 25, 1921, and has worked, though with considerable friction. The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919, was too harsh for reduced Austria and its operation has been modified.

Of the five treaties, the United States was an original signatory to three and a sort of "parallel" signatory to the second Turkish treaty. The United States was represented at the Lausanne Conference by an unofficial observer and signed a separate treaty which, so far as it goes, is equivalent to the larger settlement made by the States which were actually at war with Turkey. It is commonly assumed that the United States, by failing to ratify the three treaties it signed, avoided becoming a party to the German, Austrian and Hungarian peaces. The separate treaties signed by the United States with those States in August, 1921, however, secured "all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages" stipulated in each of them for the benefit of the United States. The specifications in the case of Germany include five-eighths of the whole treaty, which will be noted below in detail.

The execution of the Treaty of Versailles, comprising fifteen major divisions, or parts, is in the hands of the Conference of Ambassadors sitting at Paris. Their jurisdiction in its broadest terms includes those matters left to the decision of the "Principal allied and associated powers." A representative of the United States is present at their deliberations but does not vote. The conference began its work in January, 1920, and its decisions are so

numerous that their mere calendar, typed in close lines on paper of ordinary letter size, is two inches thick.

The Treaty of Versailles is divided into fifteen parts, two of which, the first and thirteenth, are separate instruments. These, the Covenant of the League of Nations and the labor clauses, provide for organizations to which others than the treaty signatories are parties, which operate under their own constitutions and which differ both in character and purpose from the other parts of the treaty. The United States is "not bound" by Part I. and "assumes no obligations" under Part XIII.

Part II. deals with the boundaries of Germany, which are now settled. Part III. deals with the "political clauses for Europe." These sections cover Belgium, Luxemburg, the left bank of the Rhine, the Sarre Basin, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Prussia, Memel, the Free City of Danzig, Schleswig, Heligoland and Russia. With the exception of Memel, these provisions are in effect. The status under most of the sec-

tions has been fixed and in several cases has resulted in additional, detailed treaties. By the terms of the treaty the Sarre Basin and the Free City of Danzig were placed under special régimes in charge of the League of Nations, and these two interesting experiments are developing a very significant history of their own. The Conference of Ambassadors had difficulty with their Memel decision, and finally referred the question to the League of Nations as an international dispute. It is possible that the provisions respecting the left bank of the Rhine, Austria and Russia may develop questions later, but otherwise this part of the treaty has been fulfilled. The United States "assumes no obligations" under Parts II. and III.

"German rights and interests outside Germany" is the title of Part IV., covering German colonies, China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey and Bulgaria, and Shantung. These provisions are all in execution. It will be recalled that the Shantung provisions attracted much attention in the United States when the treaty was under debate. Shantung was duly renounced to Japan, which in 1921 made a treaty with China by which the territory reverts to its original owner.

The German colonies by Section 1 of this part are renounced to the "Principal allied and associated Powers," among which the United States is included. By resolution of the so-called Supreme Council of May 7, 1919, the German colonies were parceled out to the British Empire, Belgium, France and Japan, to be held under mandate as set forth in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The United States at first refused to participate in the negotiations among the mandatories to determine the conditions of the mandates, but finally protested when the Council of the League was about to accept those documents as revised from the drafts submitted by the mandatories. The Council declined to act against the protest, and referred the Washington Government to the mandatories. The situation is still unchanged but the United States has a claim against each mandatory. This claim is being recognized in a series of treaties signed with each of the mandatories. The mandate system was held up nearly two years while these complications



GENERAL DEGOUTTE  
Commander of the French Army of  
Occupation in the Ruhr

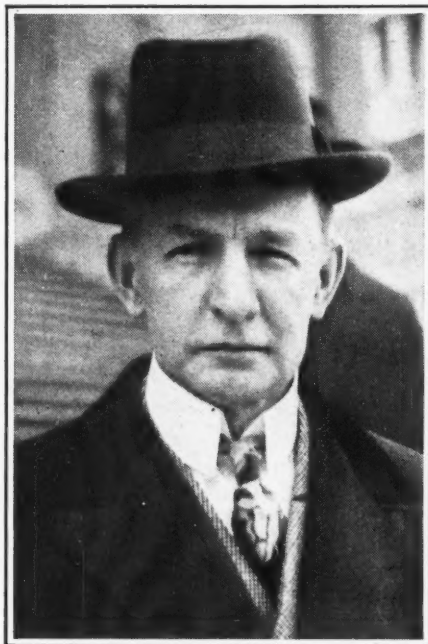
were being unraveled. All this was, however, subsequent to the execution of the section of the treaty so far as Germany was concerned. The United States "assumes no obligations" under the other sections of this part.

#### THE WORK OF ARMS CONTROL

Part V. of the treaty comprises the military, naval and air clauses. "It is intended that the United States shall have and enjoy" the rights and privileges stipulated for its benefit in this part. Germany undertakes to observe the clauses strictly "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations." To insure this, Interallied Commissions of Control are specially appointed by the "Principal allied and associated Powers," that is, including the United States. The United States, however, has held aloof.

The actual execution of this part has resulted in much controversy. Germany has consistently claimed that she has fulfilled the complicated terms and conditions faithfully. There seems to be no doubt as to this contention in so far as the manufacture of munitions is concerned. Small caches of arms and munitions have often been found, with occasionally a few cannon, which the Germans declare were being kept by individuals as mementos but which the French allege are evidence of an attempt to re-arm the Reich. Be that as it may, the aerial and naval commissions were wound up by the Governments of the victorious powers a year ago and the military commission has not been active for some time.

The military commission was about to be disbanded early in 1923. The Allies have the right to exercise their own unfettered judgment as to the continuance of the commissions, and they set out to impose conditions upon Germany which the latter held were violative of her sovereignty. As a consequence, no formal agreement was made last Spring as to the abolition of the military commission, which, nevertheless, began a period of inactivity and underwent a great reduction of personnel. Inactivity was also enjoined by difficulties encountered. The British, Italian and Japanese officers were inclined



CHARLES G. DAWES

Formerly Director of the Budget; one of the unofficial American representatives on the committee of experts of the Reparation Commission

to discount reports of hidden arms stores, and were considerate of German susceptibilities in domiciliary searches. The French and Belgian officers, on the other hand, were inclined to run down every rumor and to do detective work. The result was several instances of resistance to Franco-Belgian officers, which brought demands for punitive damages. Feeling ran high after the occupation of the Ruhr in January, 1922, when public feeling was against French-Belgian nationals, and it was a foregone conclusion that if French and Belgian officers went out foraging for arms they would be roughly treated. The truth seems to have been that up to January, 1923, Germany's armament was reduced to virtually treaty strength and the treaty system of control was operating pending the establishment of a permanent system.

In the Fall of 1923, as a result of the Ruhr resistance and the Rhineland Separatist disturbances, France and Belgium in the Conference of Ambassadors raised

the question of resuming active military control. The other States agreed that the disturbances warranted this and a note to this effect was sent to Berlin. Dr. Stresemann, the then Chancellor, replied, raising no question of substance but requesting a postponement because "the appearance of the interallied control officials would inevitably bring about incidents." On Nov. 21 the Ambassadors, while refusing to admit the German contention, maintained their right to make inspections, but indicated that this right would be executed only in operations which seemed "to them really capable of realization and necessary." The same decision involved a resumption of the aeronautical commission's activities under the same conditions. The Ambassadors' decision represented a defeat for the French contention of free exercise of the right; and the indications are that the British will scrutinize inspection proposals very critically before assenting.

The situation as respects Part V. is, therefore, not definite. The German military force of 100,000 men authorized by the treaty is called the Reichswehr. After the treaty was in force, there was much controversy about the character of the various organizations which Germany claimed itself entitled to under the head of special police. These controversies have died down, but there seems to be nothing to prevent them being raised again for political purposes.

Commissions of control were established for the execution of the military, naval and air clauses on which "a time limit is prescribed" (Article 203). It was contemplated that the system set forth in this part should be maintained by suitable German laws. The laws have been passed and are apparently acceptable to the Conference of Ambassadors. The next step is consequently to determine what the permanent relation of the rest of the world toward German armament will be.

Part VI. of the treaty deals with prisoners of war and graves. This is, of course, executed. The prisoners of war have long since been exchanged and repatriated. Agreements have been made respecting war graves. The United States enjoys all rights and privileges under this part. Part VII. deals with penalties and

provides for the trial of the Hohenzollern and other alleged war criminals. The terms of this part, which were strongly opposed at Paris by the American legal experts, have been a dead letter from the first. The Dutch Government was entirely correct in refusing to extradite the former Kaiser, and the Allies were rather relieved at the refusal. The trial of persons of lesser official status fell to the ground. The treaty provided that they be tried before the military tribunals of the States preferring charges. A list of 200 or more persons was sent to Germany, or at least delivered to Germany's diplomatic representative at Paris. He resigned and refused to transmit it. The subsequent negotiations resulted in an agreement that the trials would be held in the German courts. France complained bitterly about the ensuing verdicts, but the British Government seemed to be satisfied. By gen-



OWEN D. YOUNG

Chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, who has been appointed as one of the unofficial American representatives on the committee of experts of the Reparation Commission

eral consent the subject was dropped. This is the only part of the Treaty of Versailles on which the American-German peace treaty does not state the American attitude.

### THE REPARATION TANGLE

The question of reparations occupies Part VIII. of the treaty. The long history of this subject has caused it to be given almost an exclusive place in discussion of the treaty. Many complications have developed out of its terms and it is notorious that the system has not worked. The United States holds and enjoys the rights and privileges stipulated for its benefit in this part. Annex I. of this part lists ten categories of damages which constitute the items for which reparation is due. Numbers 5 to 7 of those categories deal with pensions and family allowances, which together are supposed to cover nearly half the total sum due. Germany from the first maintained that it was unjust to include them, but after a controversy at Paris the victors did so. In an exchange of notes dated Aug. 10, 1922, and initiated by Germany, the American Ambassador to Germany stated: "I am authorized by the President to state that he has no intention of pressing against Germany or of presenting to the commission established under the claims agreement \* \* \* any claims falling within paragraphs 5 to 7 inclusive." The influence of the United States may therefore be regarded as thrown against including pension items in the final settlement of reparations.

The financial clauses of Part IX. are closely bound to the reparation clauses. So far as German performance is concerned this part is executed, but the credits due to Germany under it have not, in large measure, been reported to the Reparation Commission for credit. For instance, the gold bullion to be delivered under Article 259 was turned over long ago, but its disposition is not of public record. The United States enjoys rights and privileges under this part.

Part X. comprises the economic clauses, from which the United States benefits. It will be interesting to compare the terms of the commercial convention signed on Dec. 8 between the United States and Ger-

many with the terms of this part. Generally speaking, this part is fulfilled or in process of fulfillment. Section I. covers such subjects as customs regulations, duties and restrictions, shipping, unfair competition and treatment of nationals of the victorious powers. A number of treaties have been made to establish permanent relations on these subjects. Section II. deals with the revival of treaties, chiefly multiple international conventions. Probably nothing remains to be done under this head. Sections III., IV., V. and VII. of this part deal with debts between nationals, property, rights and interests, contracts, prescriptions, judgments and industrial property—in general, the settling up of all the tangled skein of business cut or snarled by the war. For handling such matters, Section VI. provides a series of mixed arbitral tribunals to handle claims against Germany. These tribunals are functioning in a completely satisfactory manner. Only one incident out of the ordinary has occurred respecting them. Last Summer the Germans in the Franco-German tribunals began obstructive tactics in protest against the Ruhr occupation. Each tribunal consists of three members, the third being chosen by agreement of the representatives of the interested States. The German attitude in Paris resulted in failure to agree, and the Council of the League of Nations was accordingly called upon to fill the tribunals from the nationals of States which were neutral during the war. It is understood that the Germans may return at any time they wish. The whole series of tribunals publish decisions in a single periodical, which is one of the most far-reaching sets of reports on commercial cases in existence. Section VIII. of Part X., dealing with social and State insurance in ceded territory, has offered no difficulty.

Part XI. sets down restrictions on German aerial navigation, all of which expired on Jan. 1, 1923. Treaties between the interested parties in most cases now determine these matters. The United States enjoyed the benefits of these provisions while they were in force.

Part XII. deals with ports, waterways and railways. The provisions are in force and are largely supplemented by addi-



Old people, many of them members of the educated and professional classes, reduced to destitution by after-war conditions, standing in line in Berlin to receive enough warm food to save them from starvation

tional treaties between the parties as well as international conventions made subsequently. Their success may be shown by the fact that no disputes have arisen under them. Various provisions are subject to revision by the Council of the League of Nations after five years. The international régimes for the Danube and Elbe provided for in the treaty have been established in conventions now in force. The United States enjoys rights and privileges under this part.

#### THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Part XIV. deals with guarantees. It sets down the boundaries of the occupied area, and the length of occupation. The Cologne sector, occupied by the British, is to be evacuated in five years, Coblenz in ten years and Mainz in fifteen years. The French occupy most of the last two. There is an important argument coming as to when these periods began and whether or not they can be extended. This question will undoubtedly create a difficulty of the first order unless French policy changes completely or the French contention of the right to hold the Ruhr until reparations obligations are fulfilled is accepted by the

other parties. The United States enjoys rights and privileges under this part.

Part XV. obligates Germany to recognize the other treaties of peace and the resulting new States. This has been done. Article 435 attempted to resolve the question of the neutralized zone of Upper Savoy and Gex on an international basis. The question is not yet settled, the treaty provisions having been discarded. Article 436 refers to relations between France and Monaco. The remaining articles are general. The United States enjoys rights and privileges under this part.

Such in brief summary is the status of the treaty of Versailles four years after its entrance into force. As may be seen, the bulk of it, whether right or wrong, is either working or has already been executed. Revision of the Treaty of Versailles as a whole is not a practical proposal. Revision, or reconsideration, of certain portions of it is practical, if public opinion demands it. If such a demand should become strong enough to secure action, Parts V., VIII., IX. and XIV., dealing with military, naval and air matters, reparation, finance and guarantees, would probably be the subject matter to be reconsidered.

# THE NEW REPUBLIC ON THE RHINE

By CHARLES R. FEHRLIN

Member of the Corps of Intelligence Police (American Secret Service) from 1919 to 1922

*Dr. Dorten, the creator of the Rhineland Republic movement—Financial aid given by the French—Failure of first attempt due to Nationalist opposition—Second attempt, fostered by French and Belgians, provisionally successful*

NEWS dispatches from Germany indicate that the recently proclaimed Rhineland Republic, at least for the time being, is a fait accompli. To what degree this secession has met with political and economic success throughout the Rhineland generally it will be difficult to estimate until fuller and more reliable information has been received. The historical importance of this coup d'état cannot be underestimated. Its real significance, however, cannot be properly gauged without some knowledge of the origin and evolution of the movement since the close of the World War.

The first attempt to establish a separate Rhineland Republic was made in the Spring of 1920, under the leadership of Dr. Dorten of Wiesbaden. Although the establishment of the republic was officially proclaimed, the coup d'état never amounted to anything more than a mere proclamation in a few of the larger towns of the Rhineland, and the Provisional Government under the leadership of Dr. Dorten never assumed any governmental functions. The activities of the Separatist Party, the political group which sponsored the idea of secession from the Central Government in Berlin, are extremely interesting from an external political viewpoint, inasmuch as they involve the allied armies of occupation.

The writer was at the time connected with the Military Secret Service of the American Army of Occupation, and, in the capacity of a political investigator, had been detailed to investigate certain activities of Dr. Dorten and his party. Some of

the salient features of his findings are given herewith.

## DR. DORTEN, CREATOR OF RHINE REPUBLIC

Dr. Dorten, in whose brain originated the idea of a separate, autonomous Rhineland, had his headquarters at Wiesbaden, the famous German health and pleasure resort, now occupied by the French Army of Occupation. Most of the French Army's administrative offices are located at Wiesbaden. Although the French on various occasions emphatically denied that they had any connections with Dr. Dorten, or that they had in any way aided the Separatists in their plans for the establishment of a Rhineland Republic, investigations revealed that the French occupational authorities had secretly encouraged Dr. Dorten in his secessionist propaganda. The idea of a Rhineland Republic, however, was never conceived by the French for annexation purposes, as German propaganda charged; it originated within the Rhineland itself, under the ardent leadership of Dr. Dorten, and the party organized by him for that purpose. It was, however, established that the French had offered Dr. Dorten some financial assistance for the execution of his plans, but only in the hope that if Dr. Dorten succeeded in his project, the feeling of the Rhineland population toward the French and other armies of occupation would become more favorable, and would cause the Central Government to cease its pernicious activities against the occupation.

Dr. Dorten's activities in behalf of a Rhenish Republic found considerable favor

with certain political factions of the Rhineland. He was particularly successful with his propaganda among the working classes, as represented by the Majority Socialist Party and the German Communist Party. Gradually the German Central Party, or the Catholic Party, which is numerically the strongest party in the Rhineland, was won over to his plan.

Even before the war, the relations between the Rhineland and the Imperial Government in Berlin were never very cordial. Although there was no strong desire for autonomy on the part of the Rhinelanders, the Rhenish Central Party, seeing an opportunity to separate from the Central Government and thus assure for itself religious autonomy, secretly indorsed Dr. Dorten's activities. Violent opposition to the Separatist movement was manifested by the German National Party (Monarchist Party), the German People's Party and the German Democratic Party.

#### FIRST ATTEMPT KILLED BY NATIONALISTS

The German National Party, whose primary political ambition embraced the re-establishment of a monarchy, and an eventual revolt against the armies of occupation, left no stone unturned to prevent Dr. Dorten and his followers from executing their plans, for they realized that an autonomous Rhineland would materially weaken the political position of the German Republic, and in the event of the re-establishment of the monarchy would constitute a severe loss to the empire. A well-organized propaganda service in Berlin launched a vigorous campaign against Dr. Dorten and his followers, and the Central Government made several attempts to suppress his publicity organ, *Der Rheinlander*. It was through the propaganda service of the parties of the right wing that the French were named as the originators of the Rhineland Republic, and accused of having given financial aid to Dr. Dorten. Warnings were issued to the people of the Rhineland that Dr. Dorten was a traitor to the Fatherland, that he was an emissary of France whose sole ambition it was to bring the people of the Rhine province under French rule, and that eventually the Rhineland would become a second Alsace-Lorraine, for which Germany might wage war against the French.

The Separatists' position was considerably weakened by the disclosures made by the parties of the Right. As a matter of fact, as soon as the people scented French influence, or rather lent a willing ear to the insinuations of French assistance in Dr. Dorten's plans, the ranks of the Separatists became thinner and thinner, so that when Dr. Dorten and his cohorts proclaimed the first Rhineland Republic, hoping that a large majority of the population would support them in his move, they were utterly surprised to find very little public sentiment for their coup d'état. For this reason the proclamation of the first Rhineland Republic never amounted to more than a high-sounding proclamation which lacked executive power, and was finally shelved as utterly futile.

In spite of their utter failure in making the first Rhineland Republic a reality, Dr. Dorten and his Separatists never ceased in their operations for an independent Rhineland. The Berlin Government, shortly after the first proclamation of the Rhenish Republic, issued a warrant for the arrest of Dr. Dorten and some of his followers, and later succeeded in indicting them for treason. His news organ was suspended for several weeks, and on the surface of things it appeared that the Separatists had been entirely wiped out.

Dr. Dorten was finally brought to trial at Wiesbaden, but in view of the fact that a great deal of the evidence that the Attorney General had obtained incriminated certain French officials, the prosecution feared to present its case too strongly at Wiesbaden. The presence of a number of representatives from the various armies of occupation at the trial caused the prosecution to drop the charge of treason against Dr. Dorten, and to try him only on the count of disturbing the public peace. Had the Berlin Government been successful in adjudicating the case in the unoccupied territory, it may safely be asserted that Dr. Dorten would have been found guilty of treason and sentenced accordingly, but owing to his being tried on the lesser charge, his sentence called for a fine of only 10,000 marks.

What was the later attitude of the allied armies of occupation toward Dr. Dorten and the Separatist movement? The American and British Armies maintained a po-



Barricade in the streets of Crefeld, guarded by a single armed soldier of the skeleton army of the Rhenish separatists, during the movement to establish a republic in the Rhineland

sition of absolute neutrality, and as long as the Separatists' activities caused no interference with the public peace and the safety of the forces of occupation, no attempt was made to suppress them. The French and Belgian Armies, however, secretly encouraged them in their activities, and upon several occasions when some of their meetings were disturbed by nationalist agitators, the French and Belgians interfered to establish order and assured them military protection. Thus under the protection of the French and Belgian occupational authorities, Dr. Dorten and his followers continued their fervent activities in behalf of an autonomous Rhineland.

#### SEPARATISTS' RECENT SUCCESS DOUBTFUL

The paramount reason for the Separatists' desire for independence was political. The Separatists never failed to hold before the eyes of the Rhinelanders the lack of interest shown by the Berlin Government in the political affairs of the occupied territory. Every move that the Rhenish Government made to accede to some demand of the occupational authorities was severely criticized by Berlin. The Separatists constantly emphasized that separation of the Rhineland from bureaucratic Berlin would bring them absolute political independence with guarantees of self-government and proper administration of their

affairs, rendered more difficult than those of any other province in Germany by virtue of the occupation.

To a good many Rhinelanders this promise appealed, but the Nationalists and other partisans of the Right Wing never lagged in discrediting this promise of the Separatists, and constantly reminded them that an autonomous Rhineland would soon become so wholly dependent upon France and Belgium for political and economic assistance, that an ultimate economic and political alliance with those countries would be inevitable. Economically speaking, the Rhineland was already partially independent, in that the customs barriers erected by the Interallied Rhineland High Commission made trading with the interior of Germany extremely difficult. As far as the food supply was concerned, the occupied Rhineland was practically dependent upon the forces of occupation for their requirements. This was another point of argument the Separatists advanced in favor of the establishment of an independent republic. The promise for religious freedom appealed to the Rhinelanders, and Dr. Dorten and his partisans always emphasized this point. As the burden of the occupation became heavier and heavier, and as Berlin's attitude toward the Rhineland grew colder and colder, the Separatists attained considerable success in

converting large numbers of Rhinelanders to their cause.

The Rhineland Republic has again been proclaimed, this time in the area occupied by the Belgian Army of Occupation. No other Separatist attempt has been reported from other portions of the occupied territory. Judging from this, and from the victory throughout Germany of the Right parties, who have always violently opposed the Rhineland's separation from the German Republic, it is doubtful that the Rhineland Republic is "an accomplished fact," as the proclamation signed by Leo Deckers and Dr. Guthart reads, or at least that it will remain an accomplished fact.

In the event that the Rhineland should attain permanent autonomy the political situation would be materially changed. The Rhineland will not be able to remain absolutely independent, either politically or economically. The Central Government will do everything in its power to ostracize

the new republic, and to deny it all political and economic assistance. Socially the Rhinelanders will be hated and despised by the remainder of Germany. There will be only one avenue of escape for an independent Rhineland—a political and economic alliance with France and Belgium, which is very apt to enslave the republic and make it more dependent upon France and Belgium than it ever was under German control. The remainder of Germany and the German State cannot afford to lose the Rhineland for obvious political and economic reasons, and if the Nationalists succeed in their plans for the re-establishment of the monarchy they will not cease to fight for the Rhineland's return to the German Reich. A Rhineland Republic, autonomous and independent, may bring certain advantages to the Rhenish people, but to Europe as a whole it will turn out to be a second Alsace-Lorraine, a political sore spot, and, perhaps, another serious cause for war.



Rhenish separatists, aided by French Colonial troops, holding up and searching automobiles for arms and ammunition on the outskirts of Koenigswinter, one of the temporary strongholds of the republic in the Rhineland

# ALEXANDRE MILLERAND, PRESIDENT OF FRANCE

By ANTHONY CLYNE

The author of the following article is a leading contributor to The Contemporary Review, The London Quarterly Review and many other British periodicals

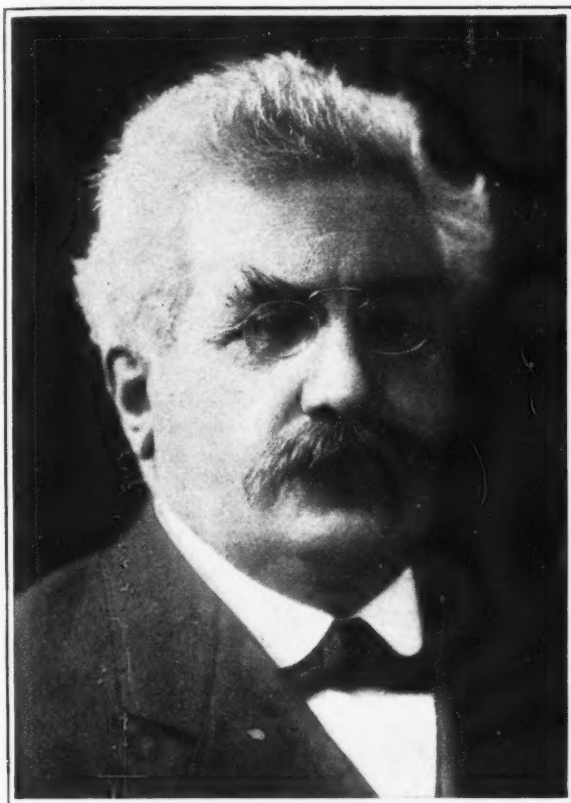
*Poincaré the grim and eloquent executive of French foreign policy, but Millerand the dynamic power behind—The stages of Millerand's rise to power—French Presidency enlarged in scope—"Continuity of policy" attained—Hard-working and sincere*

WHEN M. Poincaré speaks the whole world listens. His utterances are read and misread, analyzed and pondered, like the Sibylline books. The determined Lorrainer is the supreme and incomparable spokesman of France. Whether he be a true spokesman, or in what degree he speaks for the whole French Nation, is not now under discussion. He is universally accepted as the mouth-piece of France. The limelight is ever directed upon him and follows him unwaveringly. His journeyings are carefully chronicled. We have heard all about his fondness for pets, the favorite Siamese cat Gris-gris and the others; about his regular hours and Spartan habits; about his modest house in a corner of Lorraine, bombarded during the World War by the Germans. Those of us who have never seen him are yet familiar with his small figure, his rugged face, his manner somewhat severe, a trifle formal, yet capable of ebullitions of temper. We know his resolution or obstinacy, his courage or recklessness, his consistency or blindness, his reasonableness or stupidity. One may, according to the newspaper one reads, take one's choice of attributes or epithets.

Obsessed by the actor starring in the foreground, we hardly ever think of the man behind the scenes. Have we forgotten Alexandre Millerand's frank declaration on assuming the Presidency three years ago? His conception of the functions of the Chief of State excited a controversy soon submerged in the public mind by the

events of the three past eventful years. He was to have a more influential voice in decisions of policy than was specified by the conventional interpretation of the Constitution of 1875, his office, according to this new conception, approximating more to the United States pattern than to the constitutional monarchy figurehead type. That one avowing such views was elected to the Presidency is a sign of the times. The French have almost completely lost that nervous fear of a coup d'état which has at times exerted a paralyzing influence on their politics, and at other times induced a timid, grudging loyalty.

According to M. Millerand, then President-elect, the special function of the President was to secure continuity of policy. His particular duty was to insure, in collaboration with the Ministry and the Assembly, that the policy he had evolved from that of Clemenceau at the Quai d'Orsay was carried on. The President was to be something more than a dignified, decorative automaton. The circumstances of the exit of M. Leygues and the entry of M. Briand into the Premiership in January, 1921, were interpreted as the defeat of this new system. The entry of M. Poincaré was supposed to have given it the coup de grâce. But Millerand the dogged, who does not "speechify" much, but who sticks to his point, has he not achieved his purpose? He may or he may not have relinquished various intentions concerning the Presidency, with which he was credited, or he may have modified



ALEXANDRE MILLERAND

Born Feb. 10, 1859; elected President of the French Republic, Sept. 23, 1920

them. He has secured the continuity of policy he foreshadowed—clinging to the treaty, always the treaty, nothing but the treaty, the sole protection of France from being duped, if not endangered. The policy of the Millerand who ordered the occupation of Frankfurt in April, 1920—the first unmistakable outstanding evidence—is being maintained. The President has exercised continuously a more predominant influence in national affairs than any other President has done, except momentarily, for fifty years.

#### MILLERAND'S RISE TO POWER

We may well consider, then, what manner of man this is behind the scenes. Alexandre Millerand, born in Paris in 1859, is by profession a lawyer, who has scored brilliant triumphs at the bar in important commercial cases. He made his

reputation by his defense of instigators of a coal strike in 1883, and quickly became prominent in the Socialist Party, being elected Deputy for Paris two years later. An industrious journalist, he was at one time associated with Clemenceau, then editor of the party organ and later of *La Lanterne*, with Briand and Viviani as his lieutenants. He eventually became leader of the Socialists, speaking with acknowledged authority upon matters of social reform. But he moved gradually from the Left to that middle position best according with his strong common sense and freedom from illusions. He who, in a sensational speech in the Chamber, had put forward a kind of International Communism as the Socialist program, became a Reformist, a believer in practical, step-by-step amelioration by constitutional methods. He represented the great mass of moderate men, the bulk of the nation, rich and poor, peasants and townfolk, who disliked extremes on either side, revolution or reaction.

In 1899 he entered the Cabinet as Minister of Commerce, and this led to his expulsion from the Socialist Party in 1903. In 1909 he became Minister of Public Works. The party's loss was the nation's gain. He displayed a high degree of constructive statesmanship, carrying through a mass of important legislation relating to labor, transforming all its relations with the State, instituting a weekly rest day, an old age pension system for 9,000,000 workers and improved conditions for women employees, creating a Labor Department and organizing the State railway system.

In 1911 came the Agadir crisis. Millerand had clear and convincing opinions as to how the threat of Germany's increase of armaments was to be met, and Poincaré gave him in 1912 the Portfolio of War. From that time he devoted himself energetically to preparations against the German invasion, which he foresaw. The

period of military service was raised to three years. It was Millerand who gave the French armies the famous 105 gun, that weapon second only in the gratitude of the French to the redoubtable 75.

Shortly after the outbreak of the World War he returned to the Ministry of War, resigning with the Viviani Cabinet at the end of 1915. He held office at the most difficult period, when the strain upon organization was greatest, when unexpected deficiencies had to be filled by all manner of improvisations and sudden demands arose for unparalleled supplies. That his administration came in for a great deal of criticism was inevitable. It was not a man but a magician who could have perfectly controlled the crisis. It may well be doubted whether any one else, even Clemenceau, his most severe critic, could have done better.

During the later stages of the war Millerand was little in the public eye, devoting himself to relief work and his large legal practice, until Clemenceau, knowing the former War Minister's tremendous power of work and organizing ability, placed him in charge of the recovered provinces, with a multitude of complicated and delicate problems to solve. His work as Commissary General of Alsace-Lorraine was very successful. When Clemenceau's Premiership ended, it was obviously dif-

ficult to follow him. Millerand did so, and the representation of France in the protracted negotiations of the Allies certainly did not suffer.

#### AS ADMINISTRATOR OF ALSACE

His experiences in the administrative reconstruction of Alsace undoubtedly crystallized his theories concerning a reform of the Constitution. Proceeding to replace a German system by a French system, he was compelled to study the German system, and if its defects in spirit were obvious, its advantages in machinery became ever clearer as its Frenchification was considered. The manifold benefits of an uncentralized organization, in which local institutions, councils and corporations operated harmoniously and efficiently, local patriotism supplying an admirable motive power, were not to be dogmatically sacrificed for the rule of bureaucrats in Paris. In the administration of justice, in local taxation, agrarian organization and banking facilities in many departments of the Alsatian system he made discoveries which so enlarged his views that he declared it would "not be sufficient to adapt Alsace to France, but France would have to be adapted to Alsace."

He propounded, therefore, a policy of decentralization for France, with more extensive and independent powers conferred upon the departments. That centralization has been carried to such a degree that it is becoming partially paralyzed by congestion has long been plain. Not a signpost at the end of a rural road can be erected without voluminous correspondence with Paris officials and the compilation of a bulky dossier, which travels between half a dozen departments, often delayed and not seldom lost, making it necessary to begin the whole process over again. Not a mooring place for a rowing boat on a river can be provided without an elaborate official form being filled up, scrutinized by this and the other functionary, and finally permissively endorsed, months afterward. If the French Civil Service "worked to regulations," there would be national chaos in twenty-four hours.

A natural complement of a necessary degree of decentralization is a Presidency



MME. MILLERAND  
Wife of the President of the French  
Republic

more truly a headship of the executive, representative not of the Senate and Chamber only, but of the whole nation, and therefore chosen by a wider electorate, chosen by national suffrage direct or indirect. If the evolution of the Constitution along these lines still remains a theory which the French are not yet ready to accept, M. Millerand at least has prepared the way.

#### SIMPLE, STRONG AND STRAIGHTFORWARD

When M. Millerand first became a Minister, President Loubet said he possessed "qualities especially English, too uncommon among Frenchmen, pertinacity and even obstinacy, painstaking and going straight to the purpose." His industry, his dogged strength of will have enabled his great abilities to make a profound and permanent impression on the national life, apart from more recent influence, by concrete achievements and not by any striking oratory. He is a clear and able speaker, but without classic grace or witty phrases. Endowed with a frame compact and vigorous, he retains at the age of 64 his physical health and energy unimpaired despite his immense labors. His manner of life has helped to conserve strength. Abstemious, not liking wine, for instance, he has most simple tastes. Throughout the greater part of his life he has risen at 6 o'clock, and taken a brisk tramp for an hour with his dogs, alone or accompanied by some of his family. Then follows breakfast, composed not of the national roll and coffee, but of eggs or cold meat in the English fashion. He spends the day in work. His only heavy meal is at night. Dinner is followed by a game of dominoes or billiards. Such, at any rate, has been his manner of life when official

duties did not interfere. Marshal Foch's favorite game is dominoes, and during the succession of post-war conferences the two often sought relaxation together in a game after an exacting session.

Hating functions and loving domesticity, M. Millerand is happiest in his home circle with his wife and two sons and two daughters. The reverse of talkative, he can be animated and he is always approachable and genial. His reserve is an economy of energy. Carefully maintaining his efficiency by exercise, he is capable of colossal industry, sitting far into the night at his desk, if necessary, to start in the morning without arrears. He never avoids a task or postpones a difficult decision, and his subordinates look upon him as a prodigy. A noble head plentifully covered with white hair, an oval face glowing with vitality, a gray mustache, calm and thoughtful eyes gazing steadfastly through his pince-nez from beneath bushy black eyebrows, with an occasional gentle, slow smile very attractive—that is the outer Millerand of today.

Whatever opinion we entertain of the wisdom of the foreign policy with which he is associated, there is no denying either his sincerity or his talent. We might set down a double set of attributes, as for Poincaré, to suit both sides, but all must agree that Alexandre Millerand is profoundly convinced of the justice of the cause which he supports, and that as a personality he is a man who must be reckoned with. Poincaré is most in the public eye; he is the official spokesman and the executive of immediate French foreign policy. But President Millerand is the dynamic force behind Poincaré's burning oratory and the man behind the nation's guns.

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# FRIEDRICH EBERT, PRESIDENT OF GERMANY

By DR. T. HEUSS

*Intimate sketch of the man who led Germany out of the morass of revolution to the firm ground of democracy—A Socialist who accepted Presidential responsibility after German defeat through patriotic motives—His statesmanship and quiet tact—An unobtrusive centre of the nation's culture*

WHEN the constitution-making German National Assembly in session at Weimar, elected Friedrich Ebert, a man who until then had been the "People's Plenipotentiary" of the revolutionary epoch, to be the first President of the German Republic, thanks were given him to whom thanks were due. Future historians will one day recognize that Ebert's signal service to his country lay in the circumstance that he, by choice, and owing to his unswerving composure and tact, led Germany out of the chaos of the revolutionary morass and out on to the firm ground of democracy.

If the world possessed a better memory, and in agitated periods of history were better able to distinguish between the essential and the fortuitous, there would be no need to speak of these things. When, during the days of the upheaval of October, 1918, Ebert's name was given precedence in the choice of one worthy of being clothed with the highest authority of the German State, the outside world scarcely knew what to make of it; was he not merely one of the fractional leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who had seized the reins of power and of whom no one knew what to expect? The disorder in Germany made it, indeed, extremely difficult for the firm contour of a personal portrait to emerge clearly from the chaos. There were many who regarded the revolution as a catastrophe whereby the misery caused by the war would only be intensified, and all these became the accusers of the men upon whose shoulders

had fallen the State's authority; above all it was Ebert, the former saddler's apprentice, who as the President of new Germany was for a long time the target of derision and hatred, of vituperation and calumny. Happily, this period has now passed. The manner in which the person of the German President was little by little withdrawn from this atmosphere of hate, forms not only a chapter of political purification but also demonstrates the slow but sure effect of fundamental ability.

There have always been two conflicting elements in the movement of the socialistic workmen of Germany—the demagogic temperament, which sees in the intensifying of the differences between the party and the "bourgeois" world, the lever of genuine party progress, and the realistic temperament which strives to gain for the industrial working classes within the State the highest possible degree of social, cultural and political power. Ebert belonged to this second group. His career within the ranks of the socialistic movement is wholly characteristic of this viewpoint. It was not the career of a political orator fighting for a mandate whereby he could assume leadership of his party. Until 1905, when as a man of 34, Ebert was appointed to the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party, he had been active only in a circumscribed field. But a loyal, right-thinking personality was needed to help in combating the stormy conflicts within the party ranks, and the choice fell upon Ebert. It was not until 1912 that he was sent to the Reichstag, but once seated, he took his

place in the forefront of his group, and when the war began belonged to that group unconditionally, affirming the duty of the working masses to defend their country.

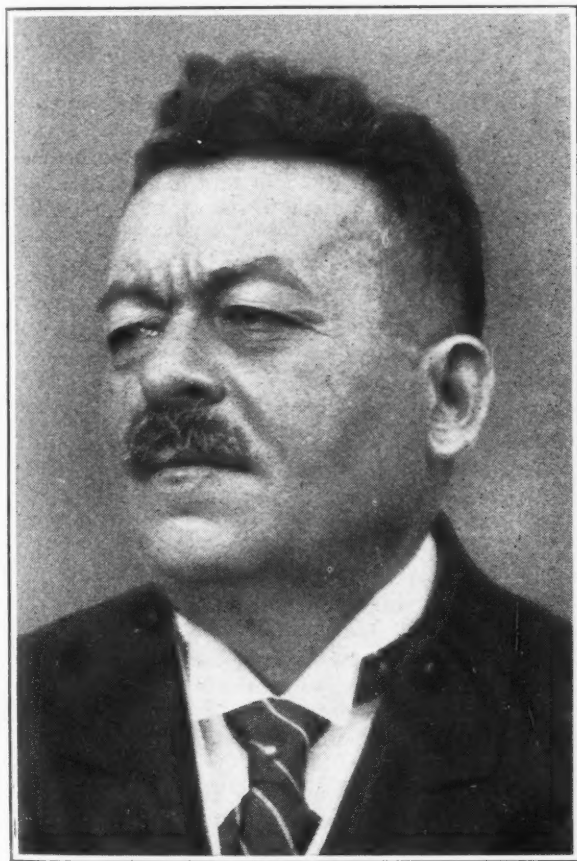
#### SOCIALIST NATIONALIST

Ebert was never a dialectician of the International. His socialistic creed was never characterized by the harshness existing in the large industrial centres of Northern Germany. He was the son of a Heidelberg artisan and as such he never lost the more tolerant, imperturbable viewpoint of the South German and Badensian character. His democratic creed, however, recognized the necessity of people and State forming a unit. Personally, he was hard hit by the war; of his three sons, only one returned from the field of honor. This has

made him feel keenly the tremendous sacrifice made by the German people, and enabled him to keep in close sympathy with the privations and the sufferings of the masses during the war. He was never an agitator against the necessity of the war, and it was by reason of this insight that he affirmed the action of the State and the nation, and thereby drew down upon himself the relentness hatred of the Communist Party.

When the final catastrophe became imminent, he believed and hoped that sweeping inner reforms would be sufficient to preserve the maintenance of the outer State form. He did not wish the overthrow of the monarchy, but when this became an accomplished fact through the military revolution of Nov. 9, 1918, he accepted the responsibility placed in his hands by Prince Max of Baden, the last Imperial German Chancellor, and resolutely held his power, despite the attempts of Karl Liebknecht and his followers to wrest it from him. In this struggle he had an opportunity of utilizing the wide experience gained by him in the exercise of party activities, as well as his familiarity with the psychology of the masses. He knew what was mere talk and braggadocio, and what was the serious will of the people; he had command of the word whereby the excited populace could be moderated and guided. It was due to this unswerving composure, unshaken even in the hours when his life was directly menaced by the Spartacists that the excitement was allayed and the wavering spirits brought into line.

During those two months of November and December, 1918, the decision as to whether, following the Soviet precedent, the industrial proletariat and the remnant of the revolutionary army were to seize and hold supreme authority, was trembling in the balance. An epoch-making day was the one on



FRIEDRICH EBERT

Born Feb. 4, 1871; the first President of the German Republic, elected on Feb. 11, 1919

which the Congress of the "Workmen's and Soldiers' Council" was engaged in a life and death struggle with opposing intellects, forces, plans and passions. Late in the evening, Ebert, who throughout the day had taken no part in the discussion, abandoned his post of a mere observer, and out of the chaos wrested a victory for democracy.

It had hitherto been his chief task so to shape and influence the traditions of the party from which he himself had emerged, that the current should flow more or less in the channel of the State's immediate needs. The situation was now altered. The change came when, as the candidate of the three factions composing the Weimar National Assembly—the Social Democrats, the Catholics and the Democrats—he was elected President of the German Republic. This new honor meant the renunciation of a part of his direct power, which now passed over to Parliament and a Government Cabinet.

#### STATESMANSHIP AND TACT

The constitutional power vested in the German President is a mixture of American and French methods. According to the Constitution, Germany's President is elected by universal, direct vote of the people, in order—and this is where it differs from the French Constitution—that he may not be a mere creature of a Parliamentary vote. But in him are not vested, as in the case of the President of the United States, sole executive powers: these are shared with a Government Cabinet responsible to the Reichstag. In the case of irreconcilable differences, he has the right to dissolve Parliament and make a direct appeal to the people. These powers, however, are for the time being only general principles for future application. At present Ebert is the President chosen by the Reichstag, and against his express wish his term of office has been extended until the year 1925, since it was thought wiser to spare the people the excitement of the first Presidential election, in the constitutional sense, at a period of such sharp crises in the nation's foreign affairs. Although the background of a popular election is still lacking, the President's po-

sition with the Reichstag has remained very strong, for the reason that in all the numerous Government crises, almost all of which had their origin in Paris or London, President Ebert, by his intervention, has succeeded in restoring the equilibrium and throwing oil upon the troubled waters. Germany is a country of very sharp party cleavages, and a Parliamentary majority is often obtained only by artificial means. On such occasions the adjustment of seemingly irreconcilable differences has been achieved by the President, and it has been his hand that has succeeded in unraveling the snarl.

Friedrich Ebert has thus succeeded in demonstrating to Germany and to the world at large that he possesses a sense of statesmanship and national responsibility, and without repudiating his political origin has shown that Germany cannot be ruled by any one political doctrine hostile to the State, such as that of Social Democracy. Even Ebert's personal adversaries have been obliged to acknowledge his personal loyalty, and it is this which forms a fixed pole for the orientation of a permanent and honest policy of conciliation in a Germany still unsettled, agitated and torn asunder by the animosities and distrust of the various parties.

#### LEADER OF GERMAN CULTURE

Even more difficult than the test to which his statesmanship and tact were subjected was the question of representation; would he be able to find the correct attitude toward the duties required of him in this direction? In the case of the former Emperor William II., this phase was strongly developed; the ex-Kaiser's boundless self-confidence, re-inforced by the monarchical legend, made him, first of all, a great talker; but beyond this his personality, either to the delight or the consternation of his subjects, led him into the most manifold fields of artistic, scientific and religious endeavor. Was the new President to follow in his footsteps? It resolved itself into a question of tact, and Ebert, happily, found a successful solution. In the first place, his natural modesty, coupled with his innate equilibrium, kept him in the background; secondly, he understood how to gather about him



Entrance to the gardens of Sans Souci, the Kaiser's former country residence at Potsdam. It was built in imitation of Versailles by Frederick the Great. The President of the German Republic occupies a much less magnificent official residence among the Government buildings of Berlin

men from the intellectual walks of life—artists, poets and scholars—and to do this in an informal way without employing any exaggerated gestures, and therefore achieving a far deeper effect. His success along these lines is also due to the fact that intellectual Germany, in so far as it is not given over to an incurable romanticism, realized that the President's natural tact and sympathy with the cultural life of the nation would prove far more beneficial than a superficial dilettantism.

It is highly characteristic that a number of Germany's intellectual leaders have been converted to the republican idea, not through study of the paragraphs of the Constitution, but by contact with President Ebert and the influence he has exerted upon them. This is Ebert's unwritten mission in new Germany, that of

laying the foundation for a new national consciousness. When he declared that the song, "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!" a song written by the democratic patriot, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, one of the republicans of 1848, was henceforth to be the national hymn, he made an important move toward paving the way for a republican tradition.

The German President is not a man of brilliant talents; by nature he is absolutely "bourgeois," placid and unruffled; but he is receptive and intelligent, and with all his tactical instinct has a touch of bureaucratic exactitude. All in all, he is the personification of a German springing from the broad masses, who takes his life grimly and seriously and places his whole being in the service of a national democracy.

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# THE TRAGIC FAILURE OF SOVIET POLICIES

By FRANK A. GOLDER

Associate Professor of Modern History, Stanford University; formerly investigator of Russian archives for the Carnegie Institute and the American Geographical Society, and member of the American Relief Association; on the staff of Colonel House's Commission of Inquiry, 1917-19; author of "Russian Expansion on the Pacific"

*Changes wrought by the new economic policy—The setback to Russian learning—Efforts to destroy bourgeois culture—Difficulties of writing the history of the revolution from an impartial standpoint*

SIX years ago I had the honor to read before the American Historical Association a paper in which I described the situation in the Russian capital at the time of the declaration of war and the outbreak of the March revolution, both of which events I witnessed. The war meant a break with German autocratic traditions and the revolution pointed the way to the fullest development of the Slavic spirit, in which the Russians had so much confidence and hope. I commented on the enthusiasm displayed by the populace in general and the intelligentsia in particular on the outbreak of the revolution. Men and women of all ranks, led by soldiers and priests, singing revolutionary and national songs, marched to the Duma with head erect and firm step, to swear allegiance to the revolution and to consecrate themselves to the cause of world democracy. New volunteer regiments were formed, a women's battalion was organized, and the Liberty Loans were taken up.

This altruistic spirit was noticeable even in the affairs of every-day life. There was a friendly disposition to share the scanty food and cramped quarters, to make room for another passenger, to treat other people with the courtesy and respect due to freemen. Though the enemy was outside the gate and unrest inside, the situation was not wholly discouraging when I left Petrograd in August, 1917. My Russian friends who came to see me off laughed at the evil omens and called my attention to the noisy streets, the crowded shops, the busy fac-

tories, the filled churches and the general spirit of optimism in the air. So hopeful were they of the future that the leading Russian scholars pledged themselves to bring out within two years a large history of Russia for English and American readers.

Four years passed before I revisited Russia. What happened in the interval has now passed into history. The aim of this article is to record my impressions of what I saw on this second visit, and to discuss the problems which these conditions suggest to the historian.

IN 1921

I arrived in Soviet Russia at the end of August, 1921, and remained there almost continuously until the first part of May, 1923. At the time of my coming the new economic policy was beginning to make itself felt, but the destructive effects of war, revolution and, especially, nationalization, were visible on every hand. Railway sidings were crowded with dilapidated locomotives and cars; railway yards were prowling places for starving men and dogs; and railway stations were in neglect and confusion. In and about the station were masses of sickly, ragged and famishing refugees with the look of despair and death in their faces. On the streets were heaps of refuse, the accumulations of years. The houses were falling into ruins, the doors and woodwork having been turned into fuel and the lower floors into public toilets. There were few vehicles to

be seen and those stirred up a cloud of dust as they zigzagged along the streets to escape the ruts and holes. One traveled for blocks without seeing an open shop and some of us walked ourselves tired in search of a place to eat. The slouchy soldiers, the gaunt and despondent pedestrians we passed stared at us in astonishment as at people from another world.

The inside of the houses was no better than the outside. My knocks at the doors where I was formerly admitted brought forth hollow, dead sounds. I tried the back door, where I was more successful. Here I learned of the general migration that had taken place from the front to the back of Russian houses. As searches by authorized and unauthorized parties grew in number after the outbreak of the Bolshevik revolution, the inmates of the houses got into the habit of barricading front doors and withdrawing into the back. This strategic retreat was also encouraged by the lack of fuel, which compelled the family to huddle in the kitchen around a small sheet-iron stove. On one side of this little room there were bunks, two or three high, and on the other the table, boxes,

dirty pots and tattered, damp clothing. The room was cold, untidy, smoky, and malodorous. There was no running water and no sanitary way of disposing of the garbage, and it is easier to imagine than to describe the sights and odors of those dark, icy, and narrow backstairs.

#### FATE THE SCHOLAR

This picture of misery wrung the heart, but talking to the inmates filled one with deepest despair. I learned the details of the physical pain, the mental agony and the death by starvation of Lappo-Danilevski, Shakhmatov, Diakonov and other well-known scholars, who were to collaborate in writing the history of Russia. The widow of one of these historians I found in a cold, dark and damp garret, quite unfit for habitation. Some of the professional men, the professors, lawyers and artists whom I once knew and who lived through the storm were stunned, dispirited, terrorized and discouraged to a degree which is hard for us to believe. It is difficult to imagine what an almost clean sweep the revolution had made of the old intelligentsia. The few who had survived were living



Russian peasants forced to use shovels in the absence of plows, so as to plant grain for the next harvest

dead with haggard faces, dimmed eyes and the bearing of men who had lost heart and hope and who felt that they were being drawn into the abyss. "You have come too late," they said to me. "Russia is lost. They have ruined her." By "they" was meant the Bolsheviks, for Soviet Russia is no longer divided into proletariat and bourgeoisie, but into "They" and "We." I tried to comfort the despondent people, to tell them of a new and better Russia, but they shook their heads and sighed, "Russia," they said mournfully, "is dying, and you are now sitting at her deathbed."

I left Moscow for the Volga where I spent three months. Everything I saw there seemed to confirm these forebodings. When we got ready to go the time of train departure was changed three times in twenty-four hours, and when the train finally started no notice was given and as a result half of our party was left behind.

A passenger coach was a rare sight in 1921 and the starving, typhus-infected people swarmed in and outside of the small, dirty freight cars until they covered every bit of space, including the bumpers and even the roof of the cars. At every station there was a mad rush to get on or off, accompanied by cursing and hysterical weeping. These wild-eyed people were fleeing from famine and pestilence as if pursued by a forest or prairie fire. We drove out to the villages and found them half de-

serted. The inhabitants had loaded their families on carts and started for the Ukraine, for Siberia, for Turkestan, anywhere to escape death, which was stalking them and gaining on them. Later in our wanderings we ran across them on the cold steppes of Southern Russia and on the icy banks of the Volga, haggard, exhausted, feverish, praying that death would come still nearer and take them into her cold arms.

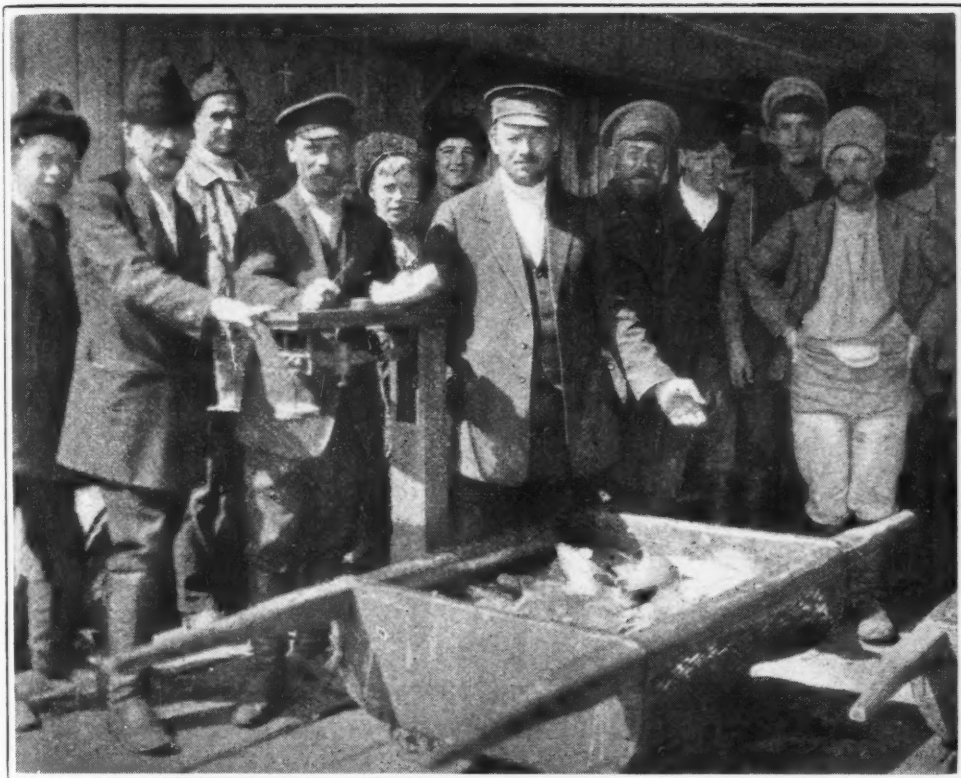
The moral degradation was, if possible, worse than the physical collapse and the economic chaos. Had I not seen it myself I would not have believed that man could sink to such an animal life, that he could lose all sense of shame, that he could be as indifferent to suffering and death as the dog with which he fought at first for the bones of dead beasts and later for the flesh of human beings. Such demoralization and such cannibalism as existed in Russia in 1921-22 has no parallel in modern history.

#### IN 1922

With these gloomy impressions I returned to Moscow in December, 1921, wondering what was the use of saving people this year if they were to die the next. To my great astonishment and joy I found a different city from the one I had left in September. Wherever I turned I saw signs of life and resurrection. The station was



Ewing Galloway  
A view of Saratov (in the Russian guberniya of the same name) from the waterfront. The city is on the Volga, 450 miles southeast of Moscow



Ewing Galloway

Russian Soviet officials doling out food in small portions

cleaner, the refugees less obtrusive, the cabman more in evidence, and the streets more peopled. Stores were filled with goods, restaurants displayed choice foods, and music halls were jammed. My dying friends of three months ago had taken a new lease of life; their faces had now some color, their eyes sparkled, and their voices rang with hope and courage. They were enthusiastic about the possibilities of resuming their life work and the better opportunities to earn a decent living. In answer to my question as to what had happened they said it was the N. E. P., or the New Economic Policy. In other words, the wonderful change had been brought about by the decision of the Government to keep its hands off the economic machinery and give the mass of the people the right to buy and sell the things of daily need.

For a year I watched these life forces at work, and it was like watching grass grow in the long days in the land of the mid-

night sun. People who in 1921 with sacks on their backs rushed every train had disappeared as a class, for it was now cheaper to buy food from the merchants in the city than to go after it in the country. Peasants seeded more land because they had some hope that they would be permitted to enjoy the fruit of their toil. The merchants repaired their stores, fixed the streets and paved the sidewalks in order to attract trade. Commercial and industrial enterprises were springing up as if by magic, for the Government had promised to protect the investors in their undertakings. Houses were renovated, painted and made more comfortable, for there was some assurance of legal possession. Even education had improved, because the parents were now in a position to contribute toward the support of the school and the teacher. This policy of modified *laissez-faire* was particularly beneficial to the former professional classes, the non-Bol-

shevist group, for it put them on the same footing with the proletariat and left them free to devote their energy and talent to the things they were best fitted for. The situation during the greater part of 1922 pointed to the early recovery of Russia. Before the year came to a close, however, a relapse set in.

### IN 1923

The Communists watched the transformation with uneasiness and misgivings. They were disappointed with the new economic policy, for it led Russia back not only to economic capitalism, but to bourgeois idealism, and they realized that unless something were done to check its course there would be no place either for them or for their ideals. In order to save their system and themselves they proceeded as before to erect dams, to build locks and to dig new ditches. They either closed or took over the private printing presses and bookstores, they drove out the men and women who might possibly oppose them, they set to work to discredit their worst political enemies, the Social-Revolutionists, and to break up the Church as an organization. The next move was to curb the new enterprises, and the taxes that were laid on these became so heavy that many went out of business. When I left Moscow in May, 1923, Arbat Street, which a year before had been a wonderful emporium, had more than half of its store doors closed. The peasant was brought low for somewhat similar reasons, and because of high taxes which forced him to sell at any price to make payments. In the Summer of 1922 a bushel of rye brought only one-fourth or one-fifth of the amount of manufactured goods that it brought in 1914.

This picture gives one an idea of the material and moral demoralization that has taken place in Russia since 1917. The economic situation need not, however, cause any serious alarm, for Russia will in the near future recover and become as strong as ever. The peasant and workman will multiply rapidly and the Russian earth will yield abundant riches to build even finer places than those destroyed. It is the intellectual and spiritual situation that is alarming. The Russian Commu-



M. I. KALININ  
Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, a position in some respects corresponding to that of President

nists are more afraid of ideas than of deeds; and though they are ready to continue their economic retreat, they are determined to push their offensive on the ideology front. They have made up their mind to crush national tradition, religious sentiment and bourgeois culture and to put in their place proletariat culture, though what is meant by that, aside from class hatred, is not quite clear.

### NON-COMMUNISTS BARRED

At the present time it is exceedingly difficult for a non-Communist to get admitted into a university as a student; it is even more difficult for a non-Communist to be admitted as a teacher of the social sciences or the liberal arts. According to one "red" professor, there is no history worth studying prior to the French Revolution, and there are those who will not schedule any course that deals with the period before Karl Marx. The old schol-

ars are being pushed out not only from the universities, but even from the archives and other such places. In the Russian Academy of Sciences some scientific effort continues, but the Academy's members are growing older, their activities feebler, and outside of that institution the only creative work of any importance has to do with the history of socialism and the publication of documents to expose the old diplomats. The case would not be so hopeless if there were intellectual tolerance, freedom of expression and the right of opposition, without which it is almost impossible to develop successors to the men who are disappearing.

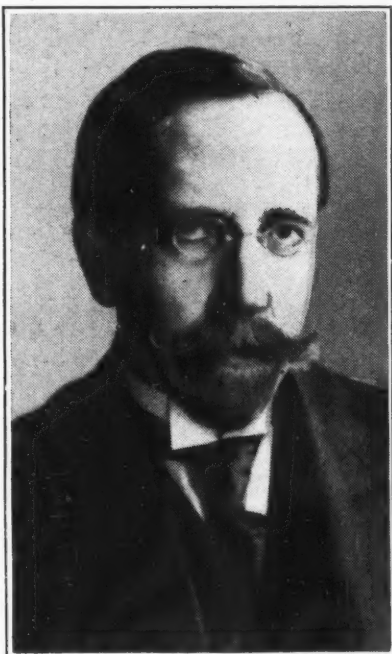
The intellectual and spiritual leaders in Russia were never very numerous, but now they have become so pitifully small as to be almost negligible. In some parts of Russia there are none of these leaders left, or none who can take over Russia's spiritual, intellectual and cultural heritage. When I departed from Russia the clouds of despair were once more covering the

sun, and when I took leave of my friends they pressed my hand and repeated the "morituri salutamus."

The disappearance of Russian scholars and the breakdown of the cultural life brings the historian face to face with the problem of how the Russian revolution shall be studied. We are generally agreed that the revolution is the great event of the age, in its way as important and as far reaching as the French Revolution. It will no doubt have its ups and downs, it will undergo various transformations, but it will eventually transform society and deeply influence civilization. The time has come for the historian to study it objectively as a social movement and not as the psychology of men thirsting for blood. Its study presents many more serious difficulties than the World War. A social upheaval, like the Russian, comes but seldom, and the data it presents are not of a kind with which we are familiar or which we may easily understand. We have to do, not with outstanding facts, but with obscure ideas and fiery emotions, difficult to grasp and even more difficult to explain. We have to do with new and yet untried social factors. Lenin and his disciples have carried socialization, nationalization and other such ideas further than they have ever been carried before. Whether their teachings are true or false, whether individualism or communism is more in harmony with the laws of human nature, can be decided neither by the parlor Bolshevik nor by the class-room theorist. These questions have passed out of the realm of theory and have entered the field of life, and it is there that they must be studied.

#### CLOAK OF PREJUDICES

The social experiment is on and we must watch it with an open mind, make note of its psychic, spiritual and economic actions and reactions on society and embody the results of our observations into history. To do this scientifically we must have reliable data and trained and unprejudiced observers. As present both of these requisites are difficult to find in and out of Russia. Such material as exists divides itself into pro and anti Bolshevik. In Russia anti-Bolshevist material is no longer met with, for it is a counter-revolutionary



International

#### LEO KAMENEV

President of the Moscow Soviet and one of the Vice Presidents of the Council of People's Commissaries, of which Lenin is the President

offense to have in one's possession papers not in harmony with the views of the revolutionary tribunal. Much of this type of document has been purposely destroyed by the owner or by the agents of the Cheka. Outside Russia, especially in Berlin, the émigrés have recorded their experiences and views in books, periodicals and newspapers, but these publications are in large part based on memory and are strongly biased. I fear that even this source will soon dry up, because of the increase in the cost of printing and the decrease of public interest in the point of view of the émigré.

Professor Pokrovsky is making a brave effort to preserve the Bolshevik and revolutionary manuscripts, but he has not been able to interest his comrades to the extent of providing him with fireproof or waterproof buildings and sufficient funds for administration. The present policy of bringing all records to crowded Moscow so as to have them under the eyes of the authorities means that some of them are lost in transportation (Hydrographic Archive), others are thrown into leaky sheds (General Staff Archive) and still others heaped up somewhere until it is time to move again.

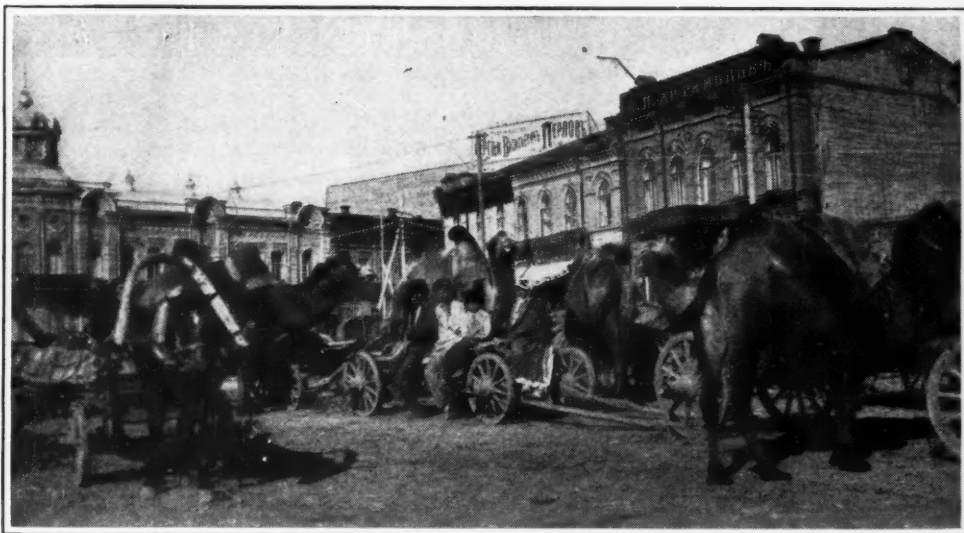
In regard to printed matter I assume, though I am by no means sure, that Petrograd and Moscow have copies of everything of importance published in these cities since 1917, but I am positively certain that no other place in Russia has, and even in these two cities the printed matter is not properly taken care of, and in view of the poor paper it is only a question of time before it will become illegible. The truth is that the Communists have been and still are too much absorbed in the struggle for existence to give much thought to the preservation of historical documents. As the matter now stands, anti-Bolshevik material may be found in Berlin and Paris, pro-Bolshevik material in Moscow and Petrograd, but there is no one place in Western Europe that has a very good collection of both kinds of material.

#### VALUABLE COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS

In America we are more fortunate, thanks to the efforts of the American Relief Administration and the personal interest of Herbert Hoover. During the period of the relief organization's work in Russia newspaper files, periodical sets,



Russian peasants and workers learning to read and write under the supervision of the Soviet authorities



Ewing Galloway

The market square of Tsaritsyn, an important centre of Russian trade with the East, which fact accounts for the presence of the camels

books, pamphlets, posters, as well as manuscripts bearing on the war and the revolution were collected and saved from destruction. In the meantime American libraries acquired the writings of the émigrés bearing on that subject. In this way it has come about that we have in our own land a better collection of "red" and "white" literature than any other country. This is especially true if we take into account the reports of about one hundred American college men on conditions in their districts covering most of European Russia.

The next question is: Who is going to use this material and write the history of the Russian Revolution? The Russians

should, but it is not likely that any Russian, be he Bolshevik or anti-Bolshevik, in or out of Russia, who has lived through the revolution, could see it in its true light. He is broken in body and in spirit and his vision is blurred by his tears. Scholars other than Russian must, for the time being at least, undertake the task. We in America, because of the rich material available and our objective point of view, have both a great opportunity and a great obligation. I trust that our graduate schools will develop men with the necessary training, the open mind, the big vision, the philosophic understanding, and the human sympathy to compete for this honor.

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# RUMANIA'S GRIP ON BESSARABIA

By ALFRED L. P. DENNIS

Professor of History and International Relations, Clark University

Professor Dennis is the author of "Eastern Problems at the Close of the Eighteenth Century," of "The Anglo-Japanese Alliance," used as a work of reference by the American delegation to the Conference for Limitation of Armament, held in Washington, and of "Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia," now in process of publication

*Bessarabia, occupied by Rumania in 1918, firmly held by the Bucharest Government today—Though predominantly Rumanian in race and language, its restoration to Russia is demanded by Russians of all parties—Allied promises to Russia violated—Controversy menaces the peace of Europe*

**B**ESSARABIA today is a Rumanian province. Despite the repeated protests of the Soviet Government, it seems unlikely that Bucharest will relinquish its hold on this disputed territory, except at the point of the bayonet. The controversy holds grave possibilities as a standing menace to European peace.

The Bessarabian question in its present phase dates back to the Summer of 1916, when Rumania finally joined the Allies in the World War. The result was disastrous for Rumania. The controversy is still raging as to whether Rumania was compelled by Russia to engage in the war, or whether, eager for Transylvanian spoils, she merely exercised bad judgment. At all events, the Rumanian Army was utterly unable to withstand the terrific pounding which General Mackensen inflicted, and the Truce of Focani, signed Dec. 9, 1917, put Rumania out of the fighting.

With the conclusion of hostilities, Rumania's latent hostility to Russia soon began to show itself. Friction developed between the rabble of the Russian Army and the disorganized elements of the Rumanian forces, and this culminated in the invasion of the Russian province of Bessarabia in January, 1919. The disintegration of Russia had begun, and the Rumanians saw in the confusion of the Bolshevik revolution an opportunity to indemnify themselves, at the expense of Russia, for the losses which they anticipated at the hands of the Central Powers.

Later, with the failure of the Central Powers to hold their dominant position, the incursion of Rumanian forces into Bessarabia continued until the province finally became Rumanian. Thus Rumania profited on both frontiers; she acquired Bessarabia from Russia, her former ally, and she was awarded a large part of Transylvania, at the expense of Austria-Hungary.

The loss of Bessarabia aroused much feeling among Russians of all classes and parties. Yet the weight of ethnographical and linguistic evidence would seem to favor Rumanian claims. The ancient history of Bessarabia alone gives Rumania a strong title. Statistics are unfortunate data on which to rely in this case, but according to the Russian census of 1891, out of a total population of 1,641,599, fully 1,089,995 were Moldavian (Rumanian). There were also large Moldavian minorities in near-by districts.

Historically we must go back to the days when the Turks were sovereign in the Balkan peninsula. During the Napoleonic epoch, while one of the periodic wars between Russia and Turkey was being waged, came the danger of Napoleon's march on Moscow. Russia hastened to make peace with Turkey at Bucharest in 1812. Russia acquired the eastern part of Bessarabia, a region inhabited almost entirely by Moldavians. The rest of Moldavia remained Turkish; later it was to be known, together with its neighboring province, Wallachia, as Rumania. This division of the Molda-

vians between Russia and Turkey was partially upset in 1856. The treaty of Paris which terminated the Crimean War granted autonomy under Turkish rule to Moldavia and Wallachia. At the same time that part of Bessarabia which had been acquired by Russia in 1812 was surrendered, and a few years later became part of the new principality of Rumania.

#### THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN

In 1877, when Russia again went to war with Turkey, Rumania joined with the Slavs to win formal recognition of her independence. The Congress of Berlin, however, ignored the gallant part played by the Rumanian Army and granted to Russia possession of the rich Bessarabian lands lying between the Dniester and the Danube. Rumania received from Turkey as indemnification for this loss the marshy district of Dobrudja, south of the Danube delta. The Rumanian representatives protested vigorously but were overruled by Bismarck, who thus sought to create discord between Rumania and Russia. Bessarabia was subjected to a process of Rus-

sification which, with increasing vigor, sought to stifle all nationalist or separatist elements throughout the empire. Russian rule found little opposition, for local patriotic feeling was lacking. The inhabitants were mostly farmers, content to refrain from political agitation. Among the upper classes, even those of Moldavian blood, were many whose affiliations soon became strongly Czarist. There seemed to be small chance for revolutionary or nationalist ardor. In this posture matters continued until 1917.

Then came the March revolution at Petrograd. Bessarabia promptly made request for provincial autonomy. Among a people who had been slow in political movements, national feeling first showed itself along educational lines. The school teachers began to agitate in June, 1917, for the restoration of the Moldavian language, which had been stifled under the Czars. Under the influence of the idea of "self-determination," a national Moldavian Commission which talked of autonomy, but made no demand for reunion with Rumania, was set up. But hope for provincial



Map of Rumania as it has expanded at the expense of its neighbors since the war. Bessarabia, formerly a part of Russia, is shown by the shaded portion

autonomy, within a reformed, federated Russian State, broke down with the success of the Bolshevik revolution, and the Moldavians now began to talk of nationality and to cast about for relief from threatened Bolshevik rule.

The opposition to the Bolsheviks was first shown on Dec. 15, 1917, when a national council proclaimed Bessarabia independent under the name of the "Moldavian Republic." This project might have succeeded had not the Rumanians and the Bolsheviks intervened. The Bessarabians successfully protested against their inclusion in the Russian Ukraine until March, 1918, when Ukrainian rights were reaffirmed. At the same time Rumanian troops crossed the frontier and the claims of a common language and race were asserted to draw Bessarabia back to its ancient connection with historic Moldavia, now a part of the Kingdom of Rumania.

The attitude of the Soviet Government did not remain long in doubt. On Dec. 31, 1917, a vigorous protest was made to the Rumanian Ambassador at Petrograd regarding this intervention in the affairs of Bessarabia. This was quickly followed by the arrest of Diamandi, the Rumanian Ambassador, a proceeding against which the diplomatic corps protested most vigorously. His final deportation was accompanied by a fusillade of protests and accusations against Rumanian officials and the seizure by the Soviet authorities of about \$80,000,000 of Rumanian treasure which had been transported to Russia during the war to save it from the Germans.

In the meantime the diplomatic struggle between the Soviet representatives and the Germans at Brest-Litovsk was being enlivened by the presence of two rival Ukrainian delegations. The Ukrainian Rada signed a separate peace with the Central Powers on Feb. 9, much to the chagrin of Leon Trotsky, who had produced a Ukrainian Soviet delegation of his own. These disputes led the Rumanian Government to seek an agreement with Soviet Russia. This was particularly urgent, as the Central Powers now presented an ultimatum requiring Rumania to sign a preliminary peace with them on March 5, 1918, which was later expanded into a series of agreements incorporated in the

Peace of Bucharest signed May 7, 1918. Rumania was now prostrate, with her agricultural and mineral resources in the hands of Berlin and Vienna.

#### ALLIED CONCILIATION

In January, 1918, the "Moldavian Republic" was succeeded by a movement for the annexation of Bessarabia to Rumania, and Rumanian forces quickly disposed of the demoralized Russian troops in Bessarabia and were welcomed by the population. In February the Allies, in their efforts to prevent the collapse of the phantom "Eastern front," undertook to arbitrate between these Rumanian forces and the Russian revolutionary elements at Odessa, in the Ukraine, but the allied diplomatic corps in Rumania averred that: "The intervention of Rumanian troops [in Bessarabia] is a military operation without any political character, undertaken in full accord with the Allies and with the Bessarabian authorities with the evident humanitarian purpose to guarantee the provisioning of Russian and Rumanian troops as well as the civil population."

At the time of these negotiations, however, it was evident from the remarks of Captain Reichanner, of the French Military Mission, that he was doubtful if the political ambition of Rumania could be controlled. Nevertheless, under the influence of Colonel Boyle of the British Army, and of the French Consul at Odessa, an agreement was signed on March 9, 1918, by General Averescu for Rumania and by Rakovsky for Soviet Ukraine, under which Rumania promised to withdraw her troops from Bessarabia and agreed "not to take any hostile military or other action against the Russian Republican Federation of Councils of Workmen and Peasants" and not to "attempt to support those made by other States."

The news of the agreement by which Russian sovereignty in Bessarabia was restored was followed by a request from the Rumanian Consul General at Moscow for the restoration of normal relations between Rumania and Russia. Before this could be done, however, a change of Cabinet took place at Bucharest. The agreement of March 9 was repudiated and in the face of the declaration of the allied diplomats the

new Rumanian Foreign Minister declared: "Russia will never recover. \* \* \*

Numerous changes will still take place in Russia. \* \* \* Whatever may be our future, we will not be the only ones in the world to defend Rumania and Bessarabia."

This declaration was the signal for an outburst of Soviet wrath. Tchitcherin denounced it as a "flagrant violation" of the previous agreement, "an act of violence" lacking "all international legal force whatsoever." Rakovsky declared that "an impossible abyss" had opened between Russia and Rumania. Later the protests of the small group of Ukrainian peasants in Bessarabia were marshaled against Rumania.

As the Peace Conference gathered at Paris in 1919, Tchitcherin and Rakovsky returned to the attack and presented futile ultimatums to Bucharest. Finally, in August, 1920, when the Russians were planning to take Warsaw, Tchitcherin proposed negotiations, apparently hoping that the lesson he expected the Soviet forces would give Poland might bring Rumania to terms. Rumania quickly agreed, but as the Soviet troops retired from Poland Rumania's anxiety rapidly decreased. Nevertheless, in October, 1920, the Rumanian Government again declared its readiness to discuss the situation. Indeed, the Soviet Government scarcely seemed aware of the fact that Rumania was about to receive the formal assent of Great Britain to her acquisition of Bessarabia. This took place on Oct. 28, 1920. It is significant that France, Italy and Japan have not yet approved and that the United States still regards Bessarabia as Russian. In the case of France it has been suggested that the influence of the Russian émigrés is responsible.

Tchitcherin and Rakovsky declared that they "could not recognize the validity of a treaty concerning Bessarabia signed without their participation, and that they were not bound in any way by an agreement on this subject which was signed by foreign Governments." To this Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Secretary, and General Avars in a wireless message declared that Bessarabia had joined the "mother country" of its own free will and that the matter was closed.

The controversy naturally was not

ended, but force of circumstances compelled the Soviet authorities to transfer the burden of their complaint to other matters. Thus Bessarabia was restored to Rumanian rule in the face of Russian protest. The Soviet authorities have not failed to protest, but they have not gone to war. The claims of the Rumanians are ethnographically sound, though one may well wish that their diplomatic records were better.

#### RUSSIAN DISSATISFACTION

The frequency with which, during the past three years, the question of the Rumanian frontier has been raised by the Soviet Government is evidence of Russian dissatisfaction with the present status of the Bessarabian question. It is also evidence of the exposed character of that frontier and of the ease with which border raids can be organized. The disturbed state of affairs in the Ukraine is further responsible for a number of incidents that would otherwise probably not have occurred. During the closing stages of the Polish war complaints were made that Petlura's "White" Ukrainian guerrillas had equipped themselves on Rumanian soil. With the conclusion of the Polish peace at Riga the correspondence turned naturally to the alleged support given refugees from General Wrangel's anti-Bolshevist forces who fled across the frontier. In December, 1920, Tchitcherin acknowledged Rumanian efforts to maintain neutrality and again proposed negotiations on all pending questions, including Bessarabia. He declared in response to Rumanian protests that the concentration of Russian troops near the frontier was entirely a question of providing them with suitable Winter quarters. Later he proposed a conference regarding the navigation of the River Dniester which forms the boundary between Rumania and the Ukraine. This was followed in March, 1921, by a warning as to the protection of "White" Russian bands near the Rumanian frontier. In April, the Soviet Government again urged the immediate regularization of navigation on the Dniester. A conference was, therefore, fixed for May at Reval, in Esthonia. Later this was postponed to meet at Warsaw.

In the meantime a number of frontier

incidents had occurred and the correspondence became heated. Makno, a sort of Ukrainian Robin Hood, pursued by Soviet troops, had taken refuge in Rumania. Raiders pursuing him had crossed the Dniester and Bolshevik troops were disarmed on Rumanian territory. Stories were current that Petlura's guerrillas were again in the field, which would have involved a violation of Rumanian neutrality. To these charges the Bucharest Government entered a strong denial, stating that if Rumania wished to make war she would do so with her own troops.

In October, however, negotiations finally began at Warsaw, ostensibly for the purchase of Rumanian wheat, as the famine was commencing its ravages. In the course of these negotiations the Soviet objective was plainly the resumption of economic and diplomatic relations. The Soviet delegates hinted that Russia might recognize the restoration of Bessarabia to Rumania if the Rumanians would forget their confiscated treasure of \$80,000,000, waive all claims against Russia, and pledge neutrality in the event of a fresh Russian-Polish war. The Rumanian delegates refused to admit that Bessarabia was a bargaining element, objected to Russian insistence on the protection of minorities in Bessarabia, and insisted on the restitution by Moscow of the Rumanian treasure. The conference, therefore, broke down.

In the correspondence that followed the breakdown a distinct stiffening in tone was to be noted. Both Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine sent sharp complaints regarding raiding bands which they claimed were organized and equipped on Rumanian territory. Such disputes continued throughout the Winter. Finally, at the

Genoa Conference, Tchitcherin objected to the presence of both Rumanian and Japanese delegates on the principal commission regarding Russia. The possibility of French assistance to Rumania in the event of war with Russia was discussed in view of this, and of repeated visits of French officers of high rank to Bucharest. The insecurity of the situation is well illustrated by two small news items which appeared in the American papers of June 12, 1922. The first item reported that grain had been sent from Rumania for the relief of the famine sufferers in Russia, and that for this the Soviet authorities had returned thanks. The second item was of a very different nature. A Soviet aviator had been forced to make a landing and on inspection his load had been found to consist exclusively of Russian propaganda directed to the stirring up of revolutionary elements in Rumania. Under such circumstances the frontier and, indeed, the entire region can scarcely be regarded as secure. At the Disarmament Conference at Moscow in December, 1922, the Rumanians were absent; they sent a reply declining to come, for they refused to discuss Bessarabia and the Russians refused to return the funds which they had confiscated in 1918, and there the matter has stood ever since.

For the Russians Bessarabia is still an open sore; to the mind of Rumania the acceptance by Russia of Rumanian possession is indispensable for the restoration of normal diplomatic relations. In the meantime, to the south of Rumania, in Bulgaria, the restless elements are being excited by Bolshevik propaganda. The only thing about the whole situation that is certain is its danger to the future peace of Europe.



# FRANCE'S TREATMENT OF HER NEGROES

By ROBERT ARON  
Editor *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris

*French negro problem primarily a colonial question—Negro population negligible in France proper—History of the question—The native code—No color line, intermarriage permitted—Negro "citizens" and "subjects"—Charges against black troops answered*

THE negro question in France is primarily one of colonial policy. Of the huge negro population that lives beneath the French flag, only a scant 20,000 are to be found within the confines of France proper, while 21,241,000 dwell in the colonial domains. Until the French Revolution the negro problem in the colonies was simply a matter of dealing with an enslaved race. The famous "Code Noir," promulgated in 1685, deprived the negroes of all rights. Even the precious franchise extended to the blacks by the royal edicts of 1713 and 1745 was withdrawn in 1766. Hatred of negroes extended even to the mulattoes, whose creamlike coloring was sufficient for their enslavement. In theatres, restaurants, ships and churches the colored people were always separated from the whites.

The French Revolution changed the entire aspect of the negro question. The "Declaration of the Rights of Man" proclaimed the freedom of all men despite race and color. Absolute liberty for men of all color was established. Thus the policy of France toward the negro underwent a radical change toward the close of the eighteenth century. The Consulate and the Empire underwent a hostile reaction toward the negroes, but the restored Bourbons were favorably disposed to them. One of the first acts of the July Monarchy was to re-establish the absolute equality of colored and white men. The essential difference between the position of the negro recently acquired dates from the July Mon-

archy. There is no distinction made between the negroes and the white people in the colonies that France possessed previous to 1830. The negroes are entitled to all rights enjoyed by the white population. This is the case in the Antilles, Guiana, the Reunion Islands and in certain cities of Senegal.

With the acquisition of Madagascar and large colonies in Central and Western Africa, the number of the negro population became considerably larger. France realized the impossibility of granting all the rights and privileges of citizenship to the uncivilized natives, and therefore a special native code was drawn for their government. With the exception of the comparative handful of natives who, having been granted citizenship by Presidential decree, are exempt from the operation of the native code and enjoy identical rights with white French citizens, the native populations in the new colonies occupy the status of minors and are cared for in very much the same way as the American reservation Indian. The colonial authorities have a much greater control over native subjects than over citizens, especially in the matter of punishment for wrongdoing. Offenders are judged in accordance with native custom by mixed tribunals composed of Europeans and natives.

Intermarriage is permitted by law. The native "citizen" is under the same rigid obligations as the white. Where the colored party to the ceremony is a "native subject," slightly more latitude is granted. If the marriage is celebrated in accordance

with French law and customs the marriage is considered "official." If it is one of those less formal unions arranged according to the native tradition, it is known as a "custom marriage."

#### THE PROBLEM AT HOME

There was no negro question in France for a very long time for the simple reason that there were no negroes in France. Under the decree of Aug. 9, 1777, French territory was forbidden to all colored people. This measure, enforced by Napoleon, was entirely abolished by Louis XVIII. in 1818 and since then negroes have been allowed to come freely into France. No distinction was made between "subjects" and "citizens" and today there are about 20,000 negroes in France. The "subjects" are mostly former soldiers who, owing to their insufficient civilization, are obliged to submit themselves to the "French legislation" under the same conditions as all other foreigners, that is, with no political rights whatsoever. Other negroes have come to France to study on equal terms with the whites. Quite recently when the negro, Prince Tovalou, who is a French citizen, was

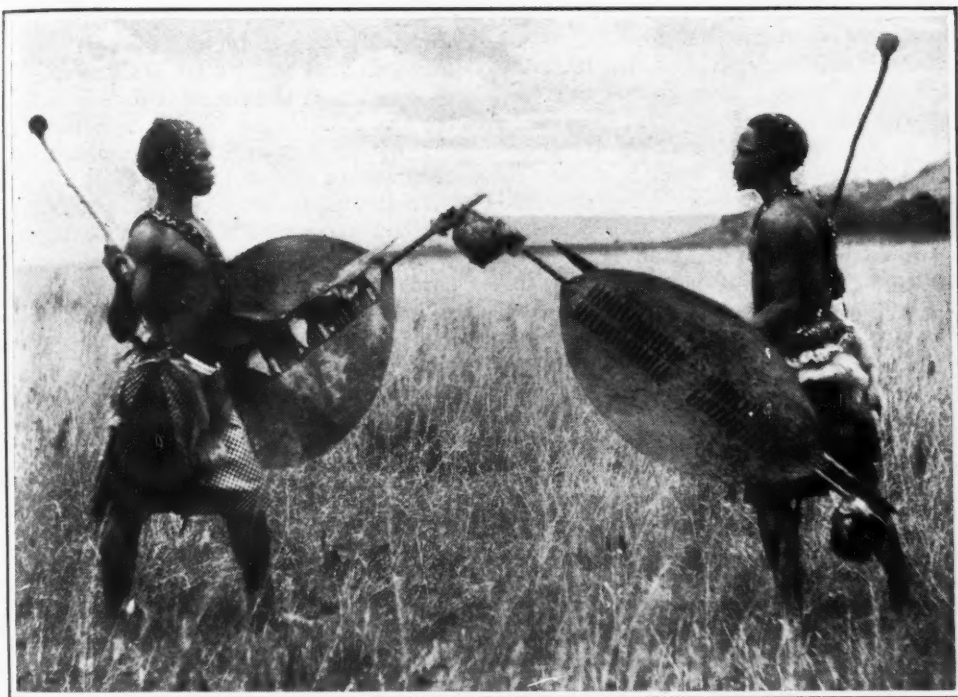
insulted in a Montmartre café, Premier Poincaré took occasion to state officially that no difference could be made between white and black citizens. The director of this particular Montmartre resort was fined 200 francs for insulting the Prince.

The negroes in France find almost all positions open to them. There are four negro members of the Chamber of Deputies—MM. Candace, Diagne, Boineuf and Lagrosillière. Paris has five negro lawyers, more than twenty negro doctors, and Prince Tovalou will lecture this Winter in the important School of Social Science.

As to marriage between black and white people, only the French citizenship of the black party is considered. Mixed marriages are permitted. During the war, however, the French Government frequently warned the white women against these unions, stating that their black sweethearts were not sufficiently civilized to make good husbands for white Frenchwomen. No legal opposition can be interposed to the marriage of a black citizen with a white woman. These unions, however, are scarce because of the difference in race and color, although there is no feeling of revulsion toward the black race.



A territorial Sultan—one of the local rulers through whom the French administer the Cameroons, the African colony formerly belonging to Germany—and his six wives



A tribal duel with cudgels between African natives

Nevertheless, Professor Charles Richet is the only scientist who has said that all contact between the two races ought to be avoided. And in the latest competition of the well-known publication *Eve* it was denied that there is any reason at all against the marriage of a white woman with a negro. In discussing the French attitude toward the question, General Henry T. Allen, who commanded the American Army of Occupation in Germany, has said: "The negro question is not considered in France and Germany in the same way as it is in the States, for in America we want to keep the white race pure."

#### NO DISCRIMINATION

When in April, 1922, the question of colored troops was put before the Anti-Slavery Society, Commandant Pietro Canconi wrote: "France had more right than any other nation in the world to make this appeal because of her native policy. She made no distinction between her white and black citizens. She granted the colonies the right to vote in Parliament and to send

their representatives to the Chamber of Deputies—something which has been done in no other country."

It is this policy of generosity and co-operation of France toward her black citizens that justifies—if this is necessary—the participation of negro troops in the national defense. Even before the World War the black troops were of considerable importance in the French Army, the majority being drawn from French West Africa. At the outbreak of the war there were 14,142 Senegalese soldiers on duty at home, in addition to 15,600 in Morocco and Algeria. From August, 1914, to October, 1915, 30,000 blacks joined the French force as volunteers. Then the Government called for 50,000 volunteers. This quota was more than met. Another call for 47,000 native volunteers brought more than that number to the colors in 1918. Altogether 163,000 blacks volunteered during the war, of whom 142,000 were mustered into service on various fronts.

The volunteer method of recruiting proved unsatisfactory and in 1920 it was decided that French West Africa must an-

nually provide 20,000 men. This figure could not be attained immediately, only 12,000 blacks being called in 1921 and 13,500 in 1922. These troops are on a par with their white comrades in arms.

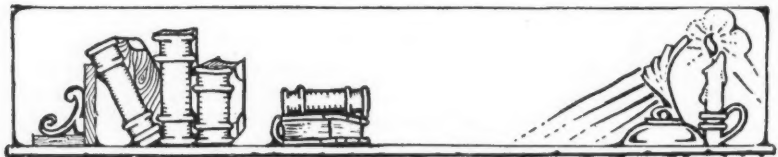
The attacks upon the colored soldiers, which were numerous enough during the war, increased in number after the armistice. The black troops on the Rhineland and Ruhr were subjected to a savage campaign of German propaganda. I shall only remind the German people—they have most likely forgotten it—of the important position that the “black savages” occupied in German life before the great war. Many negro students studied in German universities, and some were even admitted to the German Imperial Court, where, it appears, they enjoyed great success. German accusations against our colored troops are ridiculous in the light of the facts. From December, 1918, to February, 1921, when our colored troops were between 10,000 and 35,000 in number, only 77 complaints were made, of which 52 were substantiated and the culprits immediately punished. It has been estimated that the ratio of incidents between the population of the occupied regions and the black troops is one to each 1,554 men.

Foreign testimony against these calumnies has been given by Cecil Harmsworth, British Under Secretary for Foreign Af-

fairs, who on Oct. 27, 1921, wrote as follows: “In the opinion of officers who certainly are not in favor of the policy of the occupation of German territory by colored troops, there is no reason to believe that the native troops have committed more crimes than the white troops.”

In the report made by General Allen to the Department of State, the same opinion is expressed: “The accusation of the German press that the black troops were responsible for various crimes has been proved to be purely propaganda.” Nevertheless, in deference to public opinion abroad, all black troops were withdrawn from the Rhine in 1922. This was the first time, however, in modern French history that a distinction was made between white and black French citizens. The protests of the negro Deputies, Boisneuf, Diagne and Candace, made this step even more difficult.

I feel confident that the withdrawal of the black troops would not have been demanded if public opinion abroad had been better informed as to the position of the negro in France. It is the writer's hope that this article may make clear our attitude toward the black man, and that the misunderstanding abroad as to our black troops may end as do so many international difficulties, which arise only from ignorance of the customs of other nations.



# THE MAKING OF MODERN ABYSSINIA

By DANIEL ARTHUR SANDFORD

Lieutenant Colonel, British Army; decorated for distinguished war services; formerly an official of the Sudan Government and British Consul at Addis Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia; now an unofficial resident of Abyssinia.

*Present-day problems of the ancient Christian empire of Ethiopia—Fears of designing foreign powers—The illicit traffic in arms—Suppression of slave hunting and the slave trade—Reasons for joining the League of Nations*

THE ordinary man is usually familiar with the bald fact of the British expedition against King Theodore of Abyssinia in 1868, even though the rest of the history of Abyssinia may be to him a closed book. The reign of Theodore is therefore a convenient point, and at the same time the proper point, at which to begin a brief survey of modern Abyssinian history.

The Empire of Ethiopia, created by the Kings of Aksum in Northern Abyssinia, took shape in the early centuries of the Christian era. It was fundamentally an agglomeration of petty kingdoms ruled over by an Emperor who styled himself "King of Kings of Ethiopia," and this proud title defined at the same time both the greatness and the limits of his power. He was "primus inter pares," a King among Kings, who, though they might bow the knee to him and fight his battles, would suffer little interference with their own sovereignty in their own dominions. For many years before the assumption of the imperial throne by Theodore, the Emperors had wielded little influence; the country had been given over to strife between the big chiefs, and Shoa, in the South, the largest of the component kingdoms, had severed its connection with the empire.

The story of Theodore is a sad one. Born of parents of good family, but of poor circumstances, he started life as a soldier of fortune. A born leader of men, possessed of many admirable qualities, including great personal courage, he soon forced

himself to the front. Soldiers flocked to his standard and, carrying him from triumph to triumph, seated him on the imperial throne itself before he had attained the age of forty. He was crowned in 1855, and a bright era seemed to have dawned for his country. Here was a man who could rule, who could control his turbulent vassals, and could fashion again an empire from its dismembered parts!

Theodore began well. Reforms were initiated, and he began the task, left to Menelik to finish, of breaking up the power of the lesser Kings and substituting therefor the direct rule of the Emperor. Shoa was brought again within the fold of the empire. But the bright promise of early days was not fulfilled. Certain defects of character—an uncontrollable temper, overweening pride, a streak of savagery—grew upon him to such an extent that it is probably true to say that he became mad. In any case, he looked forth in the last years of his reign upon an empire in revolt and a people who abhorred him for the atrocities he had committed. The British expedition, undertaken against him for the release of certain missionaries and others whom he had imprisoned at Magdala, brought about his overthrow and death, but was an incident of no other effect on the history of Abyssinia, because, having achieved their object, the British troops withdrew.

There followed, after a brief interval for the settlement of the claims of the various aspirants to the imperial throne, the reign

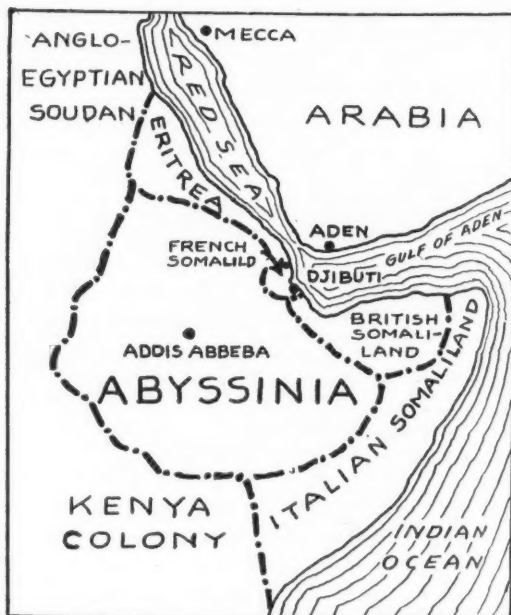
of King John. John was a man who, if left in peace, might have done great things for his country. But throughout his reign of seventeen years he had to meet the encroachments and at times open aggression of external foes—Egypt, Italy and the Dervishes. Moreover, he had a difficult task to control his two most powerful vassals, Menelik, King of Shoa, and Tekla Haimanot, King of Gojjam, in the West, though he proved a match for them whenever they ventured openly to defy his authority. John, therefore, contributed little to the development of the empire. He was killed by the Dervishes at Metamma in 1889.

To him succeeded that remarkable man Menelik, the maker of modern Abyssinia. When Theodore carried out the subjection of Shoa, Menelik was carried off to the North and detained as a political prisoner. Escaping from Magdala in 1866, he proclaimed himself King of Shoa and for a few years re-established its independence. In 1878, however, King John, temporarily relieved from external anxieties, turned his attention to Shoa. Menelik found it expedient to submit without fighting, and John for his part found it politic to confirm Menelik as King of Shoa. During the rest of John's reign Menelik spent his time extending his own dominions in all directions, and consolidating his conquests in particular over the Gallas and Negroid tribes of the South and West. He even crossed swords with Tekla Haimanot, King of Gojjam, and forced him to render up part of his territory. He never concealed his aspirations to supreme power, and on John's death so great was his predominance that he was recognized as Emperor without opposition and almost without protest.

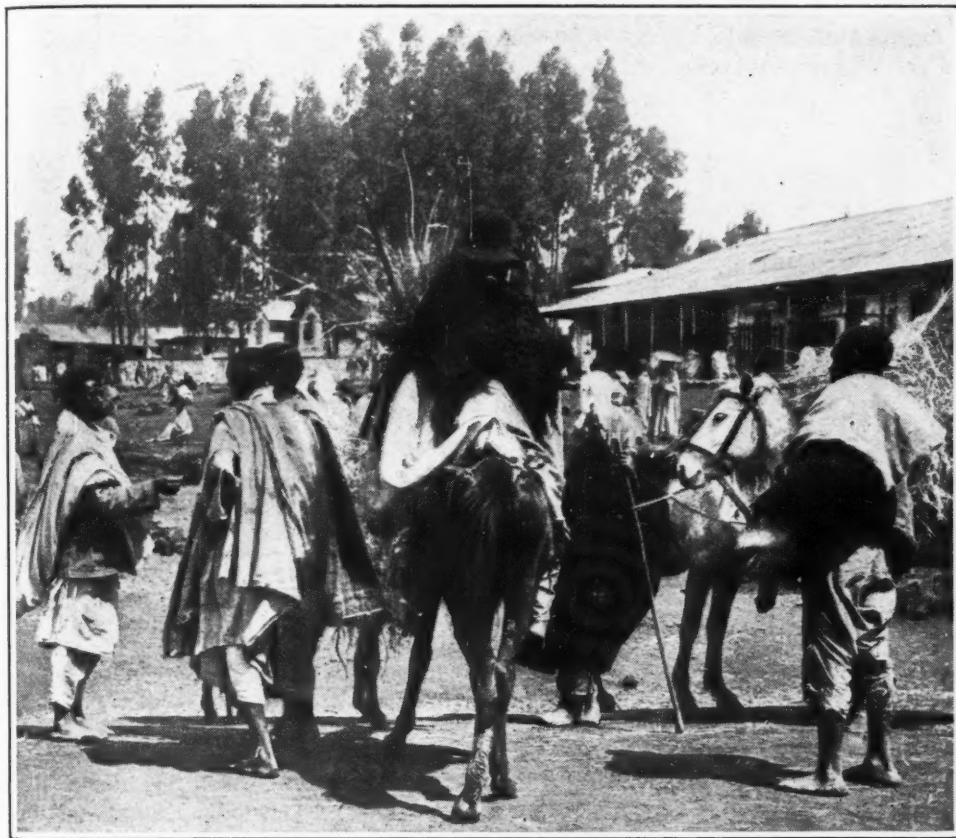
Menelik was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men Africa has produced. When he ascended the throne the "scramble for Africa" was at its height, and a decade or so later, save for the Empire of Ethiopia, there remained not a single African State or people that had not come under foreign domination. (Liberia is, of course, no exception to this statement.) Abyssinia received its full share of attention, but, far from ceding territory, Menelik might with truth have

boasted that at the close of his reign he delivered to his successors an empire of vastly greater extent and power than had descended to him. With instinctive statesmanship he saw to it that the title deeds were in order, and by 1908, when his health finally failed him, he had concluded the last of a series of treaties with foreign powers which defined and safeguarded the boundaries of the empire.

The spirit which animated Menelik at the commencement of his reign is shown in the words which occur in a circular letter addressed, though not actually circulated, to the powers on April 10, 1891: "In indicating today the present limits of my empire, I shall try, if God endows me with life and energy, to restore the former frontiers of Ethiopia as far as Khartum and Lake Nyanza, including the Gallas regions." And this spirit he maintained to the end. Witness the terms in which he acknowledged the communication by Great Britain, France and Italy of the conclusion of the Tripartite Convention of 1906: "We have received the arrangement made by the three powers. We thank them for their communication and their desire to maintain the independence of our Govern-



Map of Abyssinia, showing how the country is surrounded by territories under the rule of Great Britain, France and Italy



Natives of Abyssinia in the fuel market at Addis Abeba

Ewing Galloway

ment. But let it be understood that this arrangement in no way limits what we consider our sovereign rights."

While showing this bold front to the foreign powers, Menelik made himself absolute master in his own dominions. He had learned much from his two predecessors—from Theodore the value of a disciplined and devoted army, and the idea of consolidating his power by substituting one-man rule for the rule of many; from John the use of diplomacy, the making of friends rather than the making of enemies, methods which consorted best indeed with his own innate caution. He set himself, as Theodore had begun, to divide the empire into small provinces governed by his own nominees who held their appointments by his favor, and by this means he broke up the power of the old royal families of the North. His word became law

throughout the length and breadth of the land to an extent not known before in the case of any previous Emperor. He was "King of Kings," but there were no other Kings. His people held him in wholesome fear, but combined with their fear was a real affection and an unbounded veneration. He was the father of his people. The old man died in 1913, though for five years before his death he had been unable to take any part in public affairs.

#### LIJ EYASSU'S BAD RECORD

In 1908, when his last illness overtook him, Menelik nominated as his successor Lij Eyassu, the son of Ras Mikhail by Menelik's daughter Waizero Shoaraga, then a boy of 12 years old. From 1911 Lij Eyassu acted as Regent under the advice of a Council of Ministers, which

Menelik had created. Of these Ministers, seeing that their only claim to remembrance is the corruptness of their practices, the less said the better. Lij Eyassu was never crowned Emperor, though on Menelik's death he became the ruler of the country. An attractive boy, he took to evil courses when he reached the age of manhood, and, what made matters infinitely worse, showed leanings toward Mohammedanism. The general misgovernment, the unsettled state of the country, and the discreditable spectacle which Lij Eyassu afforded to the foreign powers created an intolerable situation, and in September, 1916, the Shoa chiefs deposed Lij Eyassu, placed Menelik's daughter Waizero Zauditu on the throne, and appointed Ras Tafari, his youthful cousin, as Regent and Heir Apparent.

Menelik built well. In spite of the follies of Lij Eyassu, the frontiers of Ethiopia which he delimited have been respected by the powers without, and within the empire the predominance of Shoa has never been seriously threatened. But Menelik left the edifice which he erected incomplete. He was not the man, indeed, to put the finishing touches. He had hewn out his empire and consolidated it, but the finer arts of organization were not his. The task which he left to his successors was a formidable one, and the difficulties which confronted the Government of Ras Tafari had been immensely aggravated by the havoc caused by the Lij Eyassu régime. Before attempting anything else it was necessary to repair the damage done, to reassert the authority of the Central Government in the provinces, and to sweep away the network of corruption and intrigue created by the Ministers.

Unfortunately Ras Tafari's Government was not given a free hand. The present Regent represents what we may call Young Abyssinia. Having received a far better education than has been usual in Abyssinia, he is a man of enlightenment and considerable refinement, and desirous that his country should seek the paths of progress. When called to power, he was but a youth of twenty-five, lacking experience and lacking competent or trustworthy advisers. He was surrounded by an atmosphere of ignorance, prejudice and in-

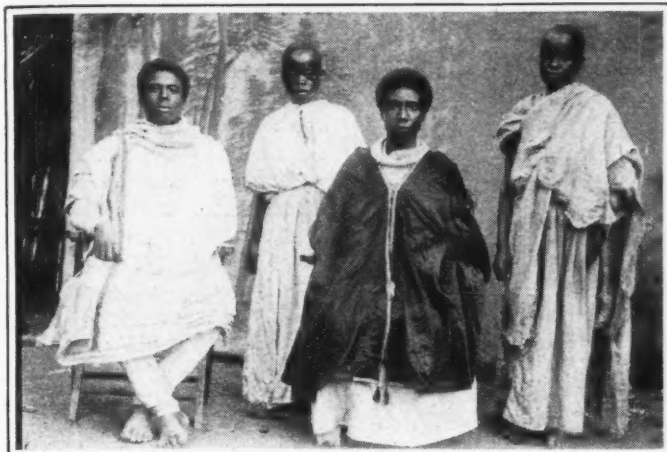


THE EMPEROR MENELIK II.  
OF ABYSSINIA

trigue. It soon appeared that the power which he wielded was power only in name. His advanced ideas and the pro-foreigner sympathies with which he was credited were objects of great suspicion to the men of the old school. These men grouped themselves together against him and chose the Empress as their rallying point. The ensuing tug-of-war between the two factions rendered any attempt at administration abortive. To add to the difficulties of the Government, Lij Eyassu, whose person the Shoa chiefs had been unable to secure when they deposed him, roamed the country at large, being given asylum at one time by his Mohammedan friends, the Danakil, and at another by the inveterate foes of Shoa in the North. So long as he remained at liberty he was a cause of unrest and a source of great anxiety to the Government.

#### AN OPEN BREAK AVOIDED

It is probably due to Fitaurari Hapta Giorgis that the strain never came to an open break. This fine old man, captured as a boy by Menelik during his wars with the Gallas, rose to great favor with the Emperor owing to his trustworthiness and the sterling qualities which he displayed



An Abyssinian, his wife and two slaves

both as a soldier and a counselor. Under Lij Eyassu he held office as Minister of War, and was reputed to be the sole Minister who could not be corrupted. When the débâcle of Lij Eyassu's Government occurred, he alone of all the Ministers was retained and confirmed in his offices of Minister of War and Commander in Chief by the Shoan chiefs, who looked to him to act as a check on Ras Tafari's advanced ideas. Though Fitaurari may be open to the charge of retarding progress, he has never used his influence to overthrow the Government, and his passive attitude has kept the peace.

In 1921 Lij Eyassu was laid by the heels. He had taken refuge with the Tigréans. The Shoan Government, having secured co-operation of Ras Hailu, the Governor of Gojjam, felt strong enough to act. The armies were set in motion converging on Tigré, and the Tigréans, yielding to superior force, surrendered the fugitive. The surrender of Lij Eyassu implied the open submission of the North to the South—the confirmation of the dominant position of Shoa over Tigré—and to make the point clear to all the world the Shoan Government exacted the

surrender of Ras Siyoum, the Governor of Tigré and a grandson of King John, along with that of Lij Eyassu. Siyoum was brought to the capital, where he has been detained as a political prisoner ever since. The North, shorn of its natural leaders—for Dajasmach Gabra Silasse, the only other Tigréan chief of influence, is also under surveillance at the capital—has been effectively neutralized. The West, represented by Gojjam under the rule of Ras

Hailu, a son of the famous King Tekla Haimenot, signified its adhesion to the status quo by assisting Shoa at the surrender of Lij Eyassu, and Lij Eyassu, being the son-in-law of Ras Hailu, this



THE EMPRESS ZAUDITU OF ABYSSINIA

action was all the more significant. The incarceration of Lij Eyassu and the submission of the North have greatly improved the position of the Shoan Government. The ground lost by the Lij Eyassu régime has been largely regained, and though the present Government does not enjoy the prestige of the Government of Menelik in his prime, its position is secure. The personal position of Ras Tafari has also improved. Overloaded with work, thwarted at every turn by the reactionaries surrounding the Empress, his severest critics must admire the dogged determination which has kept him at his post. With increasing experience he has taken the measure of his opponents. He has met cunning with cunning, and they are no match for him at the game. With the caution associated with most Abyssinian leaders he has hitherto refrained from making an open test of his strength. Time is on his side, and he can afford to wait and to choose his own time to assert himself.

#### DIFFICULT FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Abyssinian Government, having thus barely secured stable conditions in its own country, is now called upon to deal with the far more complicated problem of adjusting its relations with the modern

world with which it has been so abruptly brought into contact.

The situation is unique and fascinating. Converted to Christianity in the middle of the fourth century, Abyssinia has remained for nearly fifteen centuries a beleaguered citadel of the Christian faith surrounded by a ring of pagan or Mohammedan States. Contact with the civilized world has been precarious, and under such conditions it was inevitable that progress should have been slow, and that the Abyssinians should have developed into a priest-ridden, ignorant and fanatical people. Such was the state of the country when the "scramble for Africa" began among the European powers. When it was over (and it lasted, speaking from a historical point of view, a mere fraction of time), the isolation of Abyssinia was a thing of the past. Her frontiers were in contact on all sides with the protectorates of the foreign powers directly administered by Europeans. The barriers were down, and the civilization of the twelfth century stood revealed to the curious and none too friendly gaze of the twentieth!

Space does not permit even the briefest history of the dealings of the Abyssinian Government with the three powers with whom contact was now established. It is sufficient to state that France's sole in-



Ewing Galloway

A Roman Catholic school in Abyssinia attended by children of all colors



RAS TAFARI

Heir apparent to the throne of Abyssinia, and as Regent the director of the nation's destinies

terest in Abyssinia is the Franco-Ethiopian railway line which connects Addis Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia, with the port of Djibuti in French Somaliland. The country in the interior of the French protectorate is of an inhospitable nature, sparsely populated, and for this reason no frontier questions other than of a trivial nature have ever arisen between the French and Abyssinian Governments. In the case of Italy, the campaign of Adowa (1896), so disastrous to the Italian arms, terminated the forward policy of the Italian Government, which had for its aim the establishment of an Italian protectorate over Abyssinia, and since the final delimitation of the frontiers in 1908 no dispute of a serious nature has arisen between the two powers.

The relations between the British and Abyssinian Governments have always been friendly, but owing to the great length of frontier occupied by the British protectorates—some 1,500 miles—and to other special conditions small frontier questions have been matters of frequent occurrence and other problems of first-rate importance have arisen. The two most

pressing have been connected with the arms traffic and slavery. The first result of contact having been established between Abyssinia and the outside world was to flood the country with arms introduced by traders through Djibuti. Some of these arms finding their way across the border into the hands of the warlike tribes in British territory constituted a grave menace to the security of the local British administrations. Moreover, during the régime of Lij Eyassu all control by the Central Government over the far distant southern frontier of the empire ceased, and the utmost lawlessness prevailed on the Abyssinian side of the border. Violations of the frontier by marauding bands of Abyssinians, in search of slaves and ivory, and emboldened by the possession of firearms and the comparative defenselessness of the population on the British side of the border, became frequent. It necessarily became a cardinal point of British policy to bring about the disarmament of the Abyssinian population, and with this end in view the British Government has worked consistently to secure the co-operation of all the powers in preventing the importation of arms into Abyssinia. The Convention of St. Germaine of September, 1919, which put a complete stop to the entry of arms into the country, other than by smuggling, finally crowned the British efforts with success.

This success, essential as it was to the well-being of the vast territories under British control adjoining Abyssinia, has had one unfortunate result. It has left the Central Government in Abyssinia, whose stock of arms and ammunition was much reduced during the troubles which led up to the overthrow of Lij Eyassu, dangerously weak in the face of an armed population and of the standing armies controlled by the Governors of the larger provinces. This cannot be regarded as a satisfactory state of affairs, but so far the applications of the Abyssinian Government to be allowed to import arms for its own use have met with a refusal from the powers.

#### THE ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION

The question of slavery has come very much to the front in the past two years.

Early in 1922 a press campaign was started in Great Britain on the question of slave raiding and slave owning in Abyssinia, and was taken up by the foreign press generally. The matter was brought to the notice of the League of Nations in September, 1922, and a committee was appointed to report to the Assembly of the League in the following September. As the anti-slavery agitators have somewhat weakened their case by indulging in unnecessary exaggeration, it is well to set forth the main facts, which are simple and established beyond dispute.

As long ago as 1884 King John entered into a treaty with Great Britain which aimed at the suppression of the slave trade. In 1889 Menelik followed up this lead of John's by issuing a proclamation against traffic in slaves. As, however, he excepted from the provisions of this proclamation prisoners taken in war, and as for the first ten years of his reign wars of conquest amongst the negroid tribes of the South were in constant progress, the proclamation had little practical effect. During the régime of Lij Eyassu there occurred an orgie of slave hunting on the southern frontier, carried out by the armed bands already referred to, which rapidly and almost completely depopulated large areas, formerly thickly inhabited, on each side of the frontier. Of recent years the traffic has languished for the appalling reason that the hunting ground is worked out.

Before the outbreak of the European war the administration of the remote regions affected on the British side of the border had not been as yet undertaken by the British Government. It is probable that violations of the frontier did not take place to any great extent until the outbreak of the war. In any case the facts were not known until after the war. The steps then taken by the British Government to extend their control up to the frontier were, tragically enough, a case of barring the stable door after the horse had been stolen. The recent recrudescence of slave running across the Red Sea, pointed out by both the French and British Governments, is almost certainly not due to a recrudescence of slave raiding, but to the desire of certain Abyssinians to barter the slaves already in their possession for the

arms which are now so difficult to obtain. The slaves are smuggled out, and the arms are smuggled in by the same door.

It is not only the question of slavery to which public attention abroad has been drawn. The opening up of Abyssinia, which Menelik, though he maintained the independence of his country, was neither willing nor able to prevent, revealed to the world the general backwardness of the Administration, the oppression of subject races, and the disabilities under which foreigners were expected to live and to trade. It is unlikely that this state of affairs would have been tolerated for so long had it not been for the outbreak of the war in Europe, which diverted men's minds into other channels. Now, however, interest in Abyssinia is being reawakened, public opinion in Europe and America has been roused, and there is a demand for imposing reform on the Abyssinian Government which the powers and the League of Nations cannot ignore.

#### ADMISSION TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Abyssinian Government has viewed the agitation against it with growing uneasiness. The aspect of the situation which causes most anxiety is the possibility lest this agitation will be seized upon by one or more of the powers interested in Abyssinia as both the opportunity and the excuse for interference in its internal affairs. Abyssinia's rulers were extremely apprehensive that action entailing such interference might have been proposed in the Assembly of the League of Nations when the subject of slavery came up for discussion in September, 1923, and it was largely this fear that decided them to apply for admission to membership of the League—a decision which will have far-reaching results.

Most of the chiefs responsible for this decision probably did not concern themselves with the consequences. Their sole preoccupation is the preservation of their independence. The independence of Ethiopia, as a member of the League, will be guaranteed by the fifty or more States comprising the League, and that is enough for them. It is certain, however, that Ras Tafari and his supporters have a much clearer idea not only of the advantages



Abyssinian warriors of the type that built up the present Ethiopian Empire before modern arms were used as largely as now

which they hope to secure by admittance to the League, but also of the obligations which they will incur. It is probable that they are nervous as to their ability to give effective guarantees to the League that they can undertake the obligations of membership. On the other hand, they realize that if they are to remain independent they can no longer shirk the task of organizing the empire and reforming the administration. But to undertake this task they will require help from outside. The experience and capacity necessary to bring the administration of the country into line with the requirements of modern civilization cannot be found in Abyssinia at the present day. If they can obtain the disinterested help and advice they require from the League, they will find it easier to persuade their people to accept these than if assistance in their affairs came from any one of their powerful neighbors, whose good offices might always cloak ulterior motives. Finally, they think that once

Abyssinia has been admitted to the League, they will be able to secure an impartial consideration of the question of the supply of arms to the Abyssinian Government.

The task which Menelik bequeathed to his successors is no light one. Abyssinia has never known administration in the sense understood in civilized countries. For the Central Government to attempt it will be to array against it all those vested interests to whom progress and reform spell annihilation. Without adequate power it would be folly to make the attempt. In their difficulty it is surely a wise instinct which has led them to turn to the League of Nations. It will be the task of the League to provide them with the power they lack, to safeguard it and to see that it is wisely used. The opportunity is unique, the end in view worthy—no less than the preservation to a free people of their inheritance of freedom, while equipping them to take their place among the civilized nations of the world.

# AMERICA'S MISSIONARY RECORD IN TURKEY

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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*American Board first in Near Eastern field—Pioneer missionaries at Jerusalem in 1820—Rapid growth of work: schools, colleges, hospitals established—Its far-reaching religious, moral and economic effects—Upheavals since 1914 make future doubtful—American Board resolved to continue work—Future plans*

THE Government of the United States has, since the day of its birth, been suspicious of the Old World and averse to foreign entanglements. Not so its citizens, whether their chief interest be commercial, scientific or religious. In the last respect their philanthropic imperialism antedated even the Republic; missionaries were sent to the Indians in Colonial times. In the first days of independence missionary societies maintained religious workers among the pioneers at the frontier and the new nation had scarcely reached its majority when the Congregationalists of New England became acutely conscious of the scriptural command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." They formed on Sept. 5, 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which after the failure of a preliminary attempt to work in co-operation with the London Missionary Society (itself only fifteen years old) went ahead independently. They established a strong organization and began to send out missionaries, collect contributions for their support, supervise and advise them, and aid in the translation and distribution of the Bible. In 1818 the American Board decided to send a mission to Palestine. On Nov. 3, 1819, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons set sail from Boston on the ship Sally Ann and arrived at Smyrna on Jan. 5, 1820.

Thus began one of the remarkable phases in the history of religious propa-

ganda. Selected representatives of a small sect of Christians, humble in spirit but strong in steadfast zeal, entered the early home of their religion, determined to brighten its dimmed lamps and increase the number of its faithful. They went from a land only partly rescued from the primeval wilderness to one which had endured many civilizations and seemed to be returning to the wilderness; they went from a small nation of narrow, newly defined, clear, and fairly unified beliefs to a tenfold more numerous group of peoples sharply and deeply divided into old religions and sects; they went from the scarcely visible authority of a free, popular National Government to the contemptuous and often oppressive supervision of an antiquated imperial rule. They were intensely American—adventurous, resourceful, energetic, independent-minded, idealistic and benevolent. Yet they went not as Americans, but as Christians under direct orders from God. They sprang from one of the shrewdest races, but they sought no material gain. Though inwardly convinced of the superiority of American institutions, they conducted no political propaganda and steadfastly advised the Sultan's subjects to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Believing firmly that Jews and Mohammedans were lost in fatal error, and that Oriental Christians had exchanged the substance of true religion and righteous living for vain forms and ceremonies, they nevertheless carefully abstained from offensive accusa-

tions and worked only positively to inculcate the true faith. Their spirit has imbued their successors. Our country has grown great, and the Near East has declined in many ways. The methods of American missionary work have become more elaborate and extensive. But the inner purpose of the greatly enlarged effort continues to be self-sacrificing, non-political and other-worldly.

It is comparatively easy to outline the history of the American work in Turkey and to describe its visible results. But it is not easy to measure its intangible influences. In an old land, containing many groups of proud and intelligent individuals subjected to the forces of ancient and modern thought from many systems and many countries, who can say with precision what modification has come about naturally, what has been done by others, and what is due to the work of the Americans? There is danger of claiming too much credit for our fellow-citizens, and indeed of having awarded them too much praise—or blame.

The chief lines of American influence in Turkey may perhaps best be presented in connection with a brief narrative, which is the more appropriate because little is

generally known of this really great chapter in American history. The first missionaries desired to work in Jerusalem among the Jews, whom they believed to be more numerous and more open to proselytism than the facts warranted. It was further supposed that the Ottoman Empire would soon disappear, and that all the Jews of the world, released from unwilling exile, would speedily gather in the land of Zion. Such naïve views were speedily corrected, and the most suitable centre for work in the Holy Land and Syria was determined to be Beirut. All important groups in that region, whether Jewish, Mohammedan or Christian, could be reached through one language, the Arabic. The problem was less simple further north. The Greek Revolution led to vain hopes of freely approaching the Greek-speaking population of the Near East. There was little thought of reaching the Turks successfully. Presently it was learned that many in the centre of Asia Minor who professed the Greek and Armenian faiths spoke only the Turkish language. East and west of the centre the Armenians used their own tongue, with its special alphabet. In the Balkan peninsula the Bulgarians were not for more than a generation rec-



Religious ceremony at the Sublime Porte in Constantinople following the reading of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic

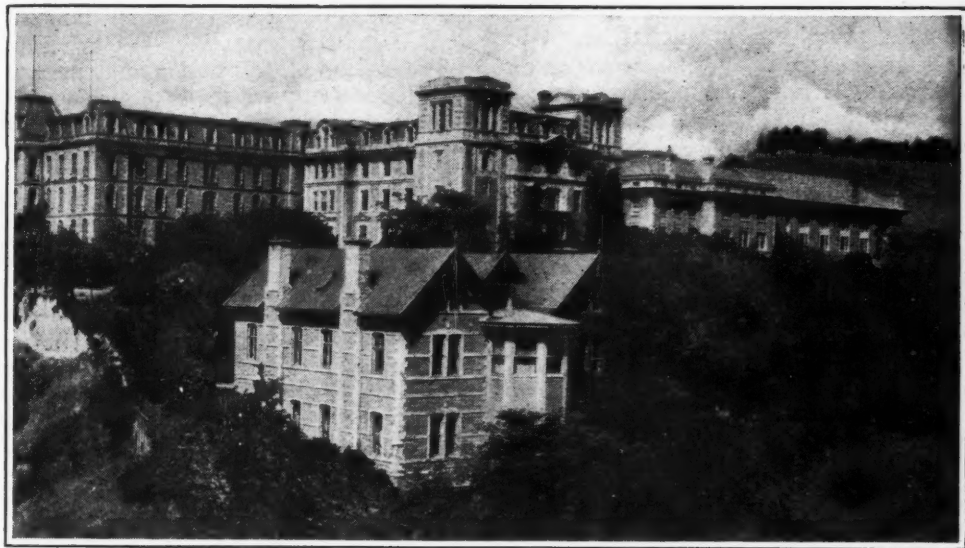
ognized as approachable, nor the Albanians until much later. Work was never carried on among the Serbs and Rumanians.

#### RAPID GROWTH OF WORK

Smyrna was the first American missionary station in Turkey, having been occupied, as already stated, in 1820. The work in Beirut was begun in 1823 by William Bird, William Goodell and their wives. Obligated to leave Syria in 1828 on account of war conditions, Mr. and Mrs. Goodell established the important Constantinople station in 1831. In 1830 and 1831, Messrs. Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight made the most fruitful of the many modern missionary journeys in the Near East, in the course of which they traversed Asia Minor from west to east and explored Northwestern Persia. In the next few years stations were opened at Urumia (1835), Trebizond (1835) and Erzerum (1839). Rapid expansion in the '50s led to permanent work at Sivas (1851), Marsovan (1852), Harpoot (1855), Cesa-rea (Talas) (1854), Diarbekr (1853), Adana (1852), (following Aintab, 1847), Marash (1854), Oorfa (1854), Tarsus (1859), and Samakov (1857) and Philippopolis in Bulgaria (1858). In Syria, the Lebanon (1843), Tripoli (1848) and Sidon (1851) were occupied near the middle of the century. A few stations were added later, as at Van (1872). Thus Turkey became dotted with missionary establishments, near which were often secondary locations, or "out-stations." At each station there were two or more missionary families, including, as the work grew, an American physician and some unmarried male and female teachers. Though the stations were seldom separated from their nearest neighbors by more than 150 miles, on account of the absence of roads the time distance along the trails between them was often like that between New York and San Francisco. A central business office for all stations in Turkey was established at Constantinople, in direct and frequent communication with the home office in Boston, and the stations were presently grouped into four "Missions," for Western Turkey, Central Turkey, Eastern Turkey, and European Turkey. In accord-

ance with the Congregational polity, each station was made largely self-governing, the "Missions" holding annual meetings. The missionaries were attached to their stations for long periods, in many cases for life. For instance, the three men and their wives who occupied the Harpoot station in 1858 were there together in that same station until after the massacres of 1895. Every seventh year, as a rule, was granted to each missionary family for residence in America. This furlough was far from being a time of rest, since besides study and general contacts with American life, a large number of addresses were generally made in order to acquaint the home churches with the foreign work. Children of missionaries were usually kept with their parents while young, but upon reaching high school age were usually sent to America. The missionary spirit became hereditary in several families, some of which have contributed three generations of workers.

Work among the Moslems was at the outset considered practically hopeless, and that among the Jews soon proved equally fruitless. There were almost no professed "heathen" in Turkey, and the work of the missionaries was soon confined almost wholly to the native Christians. It was not desired to separate them from their church organizations nor to Americanize them in language, worship or habits of living. What was attempted was to transform as many as possible, after a definite experience of "conversion," from nominal Christians to well-informed devout believers practicing the Christian virtues. The methods of the early American missionaries involved little more than conversation, translation and publication. They first of all acquired languages; in this respect the proficiency of many of them became astounding. Dr. Elias Riggs used some twenty tongues. They translated the Bible first, then hymns and religious writings, and, finally, school books and works of general information and moral entertainment. The persistence and extent of the literary labors of several have few parallels. Dr. Joseph K. Greene, for example, edited two papers in the Armenian and Turkish languages,



Robert College, Constantinople

working over sixty hours per week without any vacation, from 1872 to 1884.

A press was set up in Malta in 1882, where the Scriptures, religious writings, and, after 1829, textbooks in Greek, Italian, Armeno-Turkish and Arabic were printed. In 1833 the Arabic equipment was removed to Beirut, and the Greek, Turkish and Armenian outfits to Smyrna. Twenty years later the Smyrna establishment was removed to Constantinople. For 101 years, with practically no interruption, American means have supplied an increasing flow of carefully chosen religious, moral and educational literature to most of the peoples of the Levant. The Turks have had less than others, but they have at least been provided with an excellent version of the Bible. There is reason to believe that during several decades of the nineteenth century the elementary school books of the Greeks, Armenians and Bulgarians were largely translations or adaptations of texts prepared by the Americans. It may be added here that in later years, when English had become a leading language of instruction in the missionary school, American textbooks in many subjects were imported in considerable quantity for direct use.

The missionaries learned not only to read and write but also to speak the ver-

nacular languages of Turkey. Though for many years they conducted no church services and seldom made public addresses, they influenced individuals and small groups of men and women, who began to call themselves Evangelical or New Testament Christians. In the forties persecution of these developed, instigated by Armenian and Greek ecclesiastics, Roman Catholic missionaries, and the diplomatic influences of France and Russia. The Turkish Government, as usual where no question of political disloyalty is involved, was inclined to be tolerant and neutral. At the same time, although some Turks and some Arabs in Syria became interested in the religion expounded by the missionaries, conversion from Islam to any other religion was not tolerated. The renegade from Islam has always been deemed worthy of death, and the abolition by the Turkish Government of the extreme penalty for this offense did not change the popular view of it. The diplomatic representatives of the United States in the decade of persecution had no disposition to aid the missionaries in protecting their flocks. It was otherwise with the British. The Armenian clergy finally arrived at the point of excommunicating the Evangelical Christians. This procedure under the Turkish system left them outlawed,

without the rights of marriage, burial, inheritance, or even business activity. Application was made for the organization of the Evangelicals into a millet, or religious nationality. Lord Stratford de Radcliffe assisted the plan, and in 1847 the Turkish Government granted the recognition of a separate Protestant community, with the right to elect a head, who, residing in Constantinople, could protect their interests. The community grew slowly, until in 1909 there were about 16,000 church members and 54,000 registered Protestants.

#### FIRST EVANGELICAL CHURCH

The Evangelicals first organized an Armenian church in Constantinople in 1846. The pastor chosen was a native Christian, a practice which has been followed consistently. As Protestant churches became more numerous they were organized into unions. For a time the salaries of pastors were provided by the missionaries, but as rapidly as possible self-support was encouraged. It is worthy of note that with characteristic New England thrift the American missionaries in all branches of their work have expected the people to contribute toward it according to their means. The first Evangelical church in Syria was organized about 1848. The Syrian churches are gathered in groups

under supervision of the missionary stations.

The policy of translation and publication led directly to the establishment of schools. Each community in Turkey already had an educational system, usually poorly attended, unsatisfactory in quality and closely related to the training of the priesthood. The Christians appear to have had no high schools or colleges for boys and no schools whatever for girls. Nevertheless the missionaries were reluctant to open separate schools and strove long to stimulate the improvement of those already in existence. After they had begun to promote schools the general policy of the American board discouraged for many years the teaching of English or any European language, to say nothing of the use of English as the principal medium of instruction. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin opened a school in Constantinople in 1840, which after twenty years developed into Robert College. The American University of Beirut was founded at nearly the same time. These colleges and some later establishments were chartered under American State laws independently of the missionary boards.

In the course of years the educational system became the crowning glory of American missionary work in Turkey. In 1913 there were in Turkey, exclusive of



The woman's college of Constantinople, which is conducted by American educators

Syria, nine colleges with about 2,400 students, about 50 boarding and high schools with 4,500 students, and 400 common schools with 20,000 students. Syria had one college, several high schools and many common schools. Four small theological seminaries were opened in connection with certain of the colleges. The colleges and schools were all largely self-supporting. Fees were universally required, but frequently remitted in whole or part for poor students of exceptional ability. The intellectual side was well taken care of, attendance at religious services required, special study of the Bible encouraged, and great emphasis placed upon the development of moral character. Everywhere in the Levant the beneficent influence of the American schools is to be seen.

During the first fifty years of the American effort in Turkey the work in Syria, Palestine and Persia was all under the American Board, which represented not only the Congregational denomination, but also the Presbyterian and certain smaller groups. After the Civil War all denominations except the first withdrew from the American Board. When the Presbyterians separated in 1870 the field was divided, they taking Syria, Palestine and Persia. Thus they had been given charge of all work in the Arabic-speaking regions of Asiatic Turkey, with the exception of the station at Mardin, which, on account of its distance from the Syrian stations, was left to the American Board. The most flourishing work of the parent organization has always been among the Armenians, though its educational and medical operations have reached and greatly influenced many Greeks, Turks and Bulgarians.

Medical work began with the appointment of Dr. Asahel Grant in 1835, who, in the nine years before his death at Mosul, combined successful professional practice with most adventurous exploration in the Kurdistan region. Dr. Grant and other early physicians in the service of the American Board were ordained clergymen. Dr. Henry S. West went out to Sivas in 1859 as the first missionary with no professional training other than medical. Soon nearly every station had a physician, who

proceeded to found a dispensary and a hospital, and to prepare young men and women for careers as physicians and nurses. In 1914 there were ten American missionary hospitals in Turkey, besides two or three others under American management. The medical missionaries in that year performed some 2,000 major surgical operations and treated about 130,000 patients. The kindly care and the conversations and readings while patients were convalescing gave excellent opportunities for religious and other influence. At some hospitals half the patients were Mohammedan. During the World War much service was provided for sick and wounded Turkish soldiers.

The combination of evangelical, educational and medical work supervised by a group of resident American families, around whom were gathered native servants, helpers, teachers, orderlies, nurses, pupils and patients, necessitated an ever-increasing physical plant. The Americans acquired land and erected dwellings, churches, school and college buildings, hospitals, &c. The work so grew in most places that the capacity of the accommodations was strained beyond comfort. Though buildings were constructed in the interior of Anatolia at remarkably low cost, the total value of American property came to be several millions of dollars. The numerous activities brought the work to the knowledge of the entire population.

#### MISSIONARIES OUT OF POLITICS

This American enterprise maintained its singleness of altruistic purpose without reference to political changes, and with no attempt to direct them. Naturally the work was restricted and more or less modified by the several wars and the more numerous international crises growing out of Near Eastern politics. The Armenian massacres of 1893-1896, 1909, and 1915 led to the collection of surviving children in orphanages, while these and other disasters called for extensive relief work, financed by special contributions from America. As Westerners and Americans the missionaries naturally looked with favor upon advances in freedom and popular government, but they carefully avoided all teaching of a revolutionary nature.

No doubt the ideas inherent in the whole American scheme of life were unconsciously communicated to the native populations and worked for nationalism and democracy. At the same time it must be remembered that Westernizing forces came into Turkey in many other ways.

The economic influence of the presence and activity of the American missionaries has been great, though obviously hard to isolate. Cyrus Hamlin introduced the use of the sheet-iron stove and a new way of making bread, examples of many useful processes which were contributed to the Near East by the more practical-minded workers. The missionaries imported for their personal use many American-made articles, which were later demanded by the native population. They set an example of the highest degree of integrity in their financial transactions, aided in the development of the use of exchange, both domestic and foreign, and taught commercial subjects in their schools, and gave some agricultural and technical courses. The "worldly asceticism" (to use Werner Sombart's phrase) which they recommended to their Protestant adherents has enabled these to labor and save and thus to improve at the same time their own prosperity and that of the country.

This missionary work has had several interesting and important effects upon the relations between America and the Near East. The United States and its individual citizens in that part of the world have won the highest character for unselfishness, uprightness, benevolence and honor. Large numbers of Armenians and Syrians and smaller groups of other peoples have been led, after learning a little English and something about the New World, to immigrate to our country. It has been hard sometimes to keep up the native churches, so rapid has been the departure of their members. Finally, the visits of the missionaries to the churches of America and the printed material sent out by the missionary boards have made a large proportion of our people familiar with events and conditions in the Near East. For better or for worse the nation as a whole has acquired the belief of the missionaries that it is desirable to teach and befriend the different peoples, and that it is wise to

avoid all political and most economic entanglements in the region.

The immediate future of American missionary influence in the Near East is a grave question. Every portion of the region has suffered in greater or less degree economic loss and decline of population. Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Macedonia have gained freedom from Turkish rule, though not in any case complete freedom, or government entirely according to the will of the people. The greatest change has been in the region left to Turkey, which is almost identical with the recent field of action of the American Board in the Near East, leaving aside the work of the former European Turkey Mission, which is now called the Balkan Mission. The new Turkey has exterminated or expelled its entire native Christian population, except for two or three hundred thousand persons, mostly Greek and Armenian, who are left in Constantinople. The capital has been located at Angora, where there is no mission station. The Government is intensely nationalistic.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE MISSIONS

American missionary work enjoys for the present undiminished or increased freedom in all the lands lately separated from Turkey, except perhaps in Serbian Macedonia. The Presbyterian Board has been able to extend its efforts to Aleppo and Mardin, and contemplates, in association with the Presbyterian and Reformed agencies, the opening of stations in Iraq. Crippled by the war loss of perhaps half its constituency and the impoverishment of the remainder and by the reduction of its missionary staff, it nevertheless looks forward hopefully.

The work of the American Board is for the time being almost completely separated into two dissimilar parts. The physical plant remains in the new Turkey, including the church and school buildings and the hospitals. The Protestant community, which included nearly all the members of the churches and pupils of the schools and a majority of the constituency of the medical work, is woefully diminished or scattered in exile. The missionaries have in part retired or resigned



The Mosque of San Sophia, Constantinople. Originally built as a Christian church by Justinian the Great in the sixth century, it became a Moslem place of worship after the Turkish conquest

and the remainder are divided between work in the new Turkey and work with the refugees. The Greeks from Asia Minor are mostly in Greece. The Armenians are partly in Syria, partly in the Caucasus and partly in Greece and Bulgaria. At present the work among these is still largely in the nature of immediate relief. To this end the missionaries have been co-operating with the American Red Cross and Near East Relief organizations. The medical work next demands resumption and the educational phase will come not long after. The Protestant refugees, wherever gathered in sufficient numbers, are organizing themselves into churches.

Within Turkey the missionary buildings have all, or nearly all, been returned to American possession. Most of them were in an indescribably filthy condition. But facilities for residence and travel have not been provided for the older missionaries, and in general a small group of younger people, sometimes consisting only of women, are acting as tenants during the transition period. Attempts to reopen schools and hospitals have been prevented or discouraged. Licenses to practice

medicine in Turkey are recognized only when dated before 1914, and no new licenses are being given. Only six American missionary physicians may now work in Turkey.

The American board has firmly resolved, with the approval of the Congregational National Council, not to abandon the work in Turkey or among the refugees, and to press both as fully as circumstances permit. The organization is in process of adaptation to the new conditions. The Eastern Turkey Mission is practically closed, though in a sense the work of the station at Van is continuing at Erivan in Russian Armenia. The Central Turkey Mission is endeavoring to keep its work going, especially at Aintab and Adana. The Western Turkey Mission is now dispersed. Some of its workers are in the Caucasus, some in Syria and some in Greece. Another portion is in Constantinople and elsewhere within Western Turkey as permitted.

The work of this mission outside Turkey will be reorganized into groups on a nationalistic basis. Greek policy is friendly to missionary work, and the college staff

from Marsovan may resume work in Saloniki. A mission to Armenians in Syria may coexist temporarily with the Presbyterian work among the Arabic-speaking population, but the adaptable Armenians there are likely soon to learn Arabic. The Government of the new Russia, while actually inclined against all religion, is theoretically tolerant, so that for the present at least the work in the Caucasus is safe.

The developments of the last fifteen years have so profoundly changed all Near Eastern conditions as to end one era in the American missionary work and initiate another. The total effect of the first era begins to appear in perspective and becomes more and more capable of valuation. The new era can only be uncertainly guessed at.

The future of the American missionary work in the new Turkey is not clear. Complexity has given way to simplicity in Anatolia, leaving a people who almost all use one language, follow one religion, and are devoted to a nationalism which, though in some aspects very recent, is exceedingly strong. The former dualism of Turkey's institutions survives in the parallel and more or less rival forces of Moslem conservatism and Turkish nationalism. These show different reactions to American influence. Moslem conservatism appreciates the simple manner of worship, the unselfish kindness, the devotion to truth and honesty, and the valuable character

building of the American work, but it can hardly look with favor upon an organization, however benevolent, which proposes to hold religious services, conduct schools and maintain hospitals with the primary purpose of interesting Mohammedans in the claims of Christianity. Turkish nationalism has little interest in religion. It does not fear American Protestant Christianity as endangering the existence of its Government; on the contrary, the extreme democracy of present Turkish political theory is remarkably close to the polity of Congregationalism. Turkish nationalism desires modern education and Western ideas and practical devices. Desiring rapid material progress, it seeks the investment of American capital. But it wishes to control closely the American schools, so that every pupil will learn the Turkish language and the Turkish version of history, and will become not less but more nationalized. The American medical work comes into rivalry with the Turkish physicians and druggists, and despite its immense service to the people, the Government seems inclined to suppress it. Moreover, the rivalry of the Mohammedan and Nationalist forces in Turkey has probably not yet reached a stable settlement. Perhaps all that can be said for the present is that American missionary work in the new Turkey will be continued, but under considerable restrictions and with an exceedingly remote hope of making the population Christian.

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# WHAT OUR UNITED STATES OWES TO VIRGINIA

By LYON GARDINER TYLER

President emeritus William and Mary College; member State Library Board, Virginia; sometime member State Board of Education, Virginia; member American Historical Association, Virginia Historical Society and Massachusetts Historical Society

*Virginia the Cinderella of American history—Her notable contributions to American life ignored—Virginia's decline due to union with New England—The South's impoverishment today*

ONE result of the predominance long enjoyed by the New England school of historians has been the almost total eclipse in the mind of the country at large of the notable contributions to American thought and ideals made by Virginia. Preoccupied chiefly with the words and deeds of their forebears, the New England writers have so successfully extolled Colonial New England that Virginia's achievements have been cast in the shade. Colonial education, democratic institutions, the movement against slavery, the field of social, religious and moral reform—all these have come to be considered the exclusive appanage of the Puritan Fathers. The facts, however, do not bear out these claims. Virginia was in advance of New England from the earliest days until New England exploitation of the possibilities for financial aggrandizement under the Union saddled the South with an undue share of the common burden and sowed the seeds of the Civil War.

Virginia led in education. The first free school was established at Hampton. Thomas Jefferson, who worked out his magnificent ideas for himself, was the greatest constructive educator of his age. The present educational ideal is of Southern origin, and not of New England origin in any way.

Much has been made of the fact that free schooling was provided in New England Colonial days for children whose parents were too poor to pay for it. It should not, however, be forgotten that no

scholar who was able to pay for his education was admitted without being compelled to pay. Virginia made education a public matter by providing that no child should be allowed to grow up without some education; neglected children were taken from their parents and boarded out. It is a great mistake to say that the school system of Colonial Massachusetts was intended to strengthen the State. Such, indeed, was the character of the system proposed by Jefferson, but the Massachusetts idea was primarily to strengthen the Church, not the State. The maintenance of theocracy was the main issue in New England Colonial life, and every grammar school master had to be approved by the minister of the town and the ministers of the two next adjoining towns, and only a member of the Congregational Church could teach school. The schools were very inefficient, and most people in New England could neither read nor write. It is true, however, that, once having adopted the Southern idea, New England brought her schools to a higher state of development. Living in towns, the New England Puritans found it useful for their religious purposes to have better schools, and in course of time realized that education was also a civic blessing.

Nor was Virginia laggard in the matter of democratic ideals and institutions. Virginia had the idea of democracy before Plymouth was founded, and it was not till 1736, after Virginia had existed for 129 years, with a suffrage freer than any known



Engraved from a painting by John G. Chapman

The landing of the first English colonists at Jamestown, Va., in 1607

in the world, that a definite land restriction was introduced. During much of this long period of free suffrage in Virginia, the suffrage in Massachusetts was confined to Church members, and later the qualification was based on the ownership of real or personal property. In the towns the government was in the hands of a syndicate consisting of the minister, the deacons and a few other leading citizens. Many more people voted in Virginia at the time of the Revolution than in Massachusetts. "By no stretch of the imagination," says Dr. Charles M. Andrews of Yale University in a recent work, "can the political conditions in any of the New England Colonies be called popular or democratic. Government was in the hands of a very few men."

The most that can be said for New England government during the Colonial period is said by Weeden in his "Social and Economic History of New England," viz., that "it was democratic in form but aristocratic in the substance of the administration." The towns were oligarchies, and limitations on the suffrage prevailed in all the New England States down to a comparatively recent time. When Virginia in

1851 adopted universal white suffrage, limitations both undemocratic and unrepublican prevailed in New England.

As a matter of fact, it was Virginia that taught democracy to New England. After the Revolution New England was the headquarters of the Federalist Party. This party stood for the classes and despised the poor. Virginia, on the other hand, was the seat of the great democratic Republican Party, with its ideas of political equality. If these ideas were not fully manifested by the ballot, they were expressed in the life of the people. In New England white people were servants of the rich, but in Virginia after the Revolution no white person, however landless, was a servant to any one. The poorest fisherman on the Chickahominy would have resisted an order from any man.

As Mr. Jefferson explained to John Adams in a letter written as late as 1814, the aristocracy of Virginia at that time was spectacular and powerless, unlike that of New England, which was politically all powerful. Inherited characteristics are still strong in New England. In the private circles to which I have been admitted I have found that the old Colonial families

have the same contempt which they always had for the poor, and that they despise an Irishman or an Italian far more than a Virginian despises a negro.

#### THE NEW ENGLAND SLAVE TRADE

In a recent article in this magazine Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard claims credit on behalf of his New England ancestors for the abolition of slavery. Here, as in other particulars in the same article, Dr. Hart, by laying stress on one side, gives an entirely false conception of the issue. It is very true that the New England States led in abolishing slavery in their own community, and afterward plunged the country into war by forcing their opinion on the South, before the South was prepared for it. But in neither case do they deserve any credit for their action. The New England States had but few negroes, and slavery was then, and always had been, unprofitable in this section. They made no sacrifice in abolishing it, nor did they deserve any credit for inaugurating their crusade of abolition against the South, for slavery had its source in the slave trade, of which the New England States were the supporters and champions. Virginia was the first State in the world to denounce the slave trade as a felony. Against her vehement protest New England voted for a provision in the Federal Constitution to permit the slave trade for twenty years. Afterwards, through New England vessels, which brought in thousands of negroes during this period, slavery was fastened on the country and a permanent racial diversity established, as much the curse of the Southern States today as before the abolition of slavery. How clearly the evils of slavery were perceived in Virginia is shown by the energetic declaration of John Tyler, who, as Vice President of the Virginia convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution, desired that "it be handed down to posterity that he had opposed that

wicked clause," referring to the clause permitting the slave trade. It is probable that if this clause had not been adopted through the instrumentality of New England, neither Massachusetts nor any other New England States would have had to organize the abolition movement in 1831, which led to such terrible results.

To tell the story of the South's part in influencing the development of the country, however, one has more to do than to engage in a discussion of education, democracy and abolition. Indeed, without Virginia and the South, there would have been no Puritan settlement at Plymouth, which would have fallen for want of Virginia's intervention into the hands of the French. Without supplies furnished by Virginia ships the Plymouth colony, as Bradford says, would have starved to death. It was Virginia that blazed the way to the Revolution, and a Virginian, George Washington, who ensured its success. Virginia was the backbone of the war, furnishing more soldiers and more supplies than any other State. It is not true that Virginia "was going backward financially" at the beginning of the Revolution, as has been charged. While the New England States were suffering from the demoralization engendered by vast issues of paper money, Virginia's credit stood firm as a rock. Her imports and exports were equa



From an old print  
The first English settlers building their homes at Jamestown after their arrival in 1607

to the imports and exports of all New England. It was only after Virginia was associated with the New England States that she began to go backward financially.

For many years later, however, Virginia, with her Southern sisters, laid the foundation of the principles upon which the Union rests today. All the great ideas of present international law found in Virginia their ablest and earliest exponents—the right of expatriation, surrender of fugitives fleeing from justice, immigration, freedom from impressment, “free ships make free trade,” and so forth. All these great ideas were opposed by New England, which adopted the British doctrine of perpetual allegiance, wanted the general application of the common law during their control of the Government, and passed all kinds of acts limiting immigration and the right of asylum to foreigners. The freedom of religion which we now enjoy was proclaimed by Virginia by her immortal Declaration of Rights in 1776, and it was brought to New England by her preachers, John Leland, the Baptist, and Jesse Lee, the Methodist, who in the real spirit of evangelism met the Congregational preachers in their towns and broke down their narrow doctrines of election and predestination by which they maintained their rule over the ignorant and poor. Then came the tremendous victory of Jefferson in 1804, when real political liberty was introduced for the first time into New England, where Jefferson carried all States except Connecticut.

As regards the building of the West, to what part of the country was that vast expansion due which alone made such building possible? Virginia added the Northwest Territory to the Union in 1779; New England in 1785 attempted to halt our westward march at the Mississippi River. Louisiana, Florida, Texas and all the West, to the shores of California, were annexed to the Union by Virginia and the South, and the addition of all this noble territory was bitterly opposed by the New England States. Had their policy prevailed, the ideals of which all Americans are proud might have found expression only in a narrow strip of country along the Atlantic Coast. Nor is this all that can be claimed. It was a law modeled after



From an old print

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH  
English soldier and founder of the Colony  
of Virginia

the Draft bill of 1814, which Madison proposed and which Puritan New England bitterly denounced, that enabled this country in 1917 to defeat Germany, and it was a Virginia President that proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine, which still regulates the relations of this continent to the world at large.

#### PURITAN BUSINESS ACUMEN

And yet in modestly attempting to set forth the Southern achievements, which are generally overlooked in New England, I must not be understood to deny a true pre-eminence in the Puritans in a particular which Dr. Hart should have more fully emphasized in his article previously referred to. This pre-eminence does not lie in the domain of great religious or even great moral reform, but in their keen business perceptions. Here they undoubtedly surpassed the Virginians and Southerners generally. As partners in a great Union, the New Englanders were quick to avail themselves of their opportunities, and their exploitation was successful beyond measure. It began with Hamilton's financial measures, which placed great burdens on

the South, and was followed by laws creating bounties, tariffs and internal improvements which poured millions of dollars into New England coffers. But this is an old story and need not be enlarged upon.

One fact, however, may be stated in conclusion. The South was told to expect much from the abolition of slavery in a financial as well as moral way. The morality of slavery cannot be defended, and was not defended in Virginia till New England fanatics entered on their crusade of incendiarism and murder. But the statistics do not show that the abolition of slavery, whatever its moral character, was a financial blessing to the South, as predicted in the North. The destruction of property by the Civil War in the South was immense, but France recovered from the war of 1870 in an amazingly short time, and under ordinary conditions the South ought long ago to have entered on a period of prosperity. Has it really done so?

The census of 1860 shows that the eleven Southern States that actually seced-

ed had in property of all kinds, omitting the value of negroes, \$2,615,750,330. The same year the eighteen Northern States that fought them had \$6,621,699,797. Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri are not counted on either side, and the value of the negroes is not included in the Southern estimate on the theory that ownership had only been transferred from master to slave.

In 1912 the census shows that the same eleven Southern States had \$8,073,986,366, and that the same eighteen Northern States had \$51,143,451,461. Comparing this with the figures for 1860, the Northern States were then two and one-half times as wealthy as the Southern States, and in 1912 they were nearly six and one-third times as wealthy. It follows, therefore, that the South is relatively far poorer than she was in 1860. The little State of Massachusetts, which in 1860 had not much more wealth than Virginia, has now nearly as much wealth as all the South put together. The figures for the South, furthermore, are not really as favorable as represented.



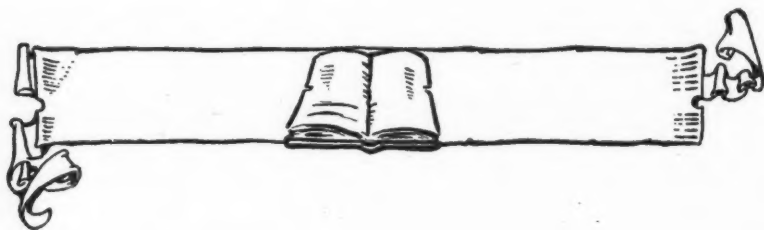
The old church at Jamestown, Va. The tower dates back to the seventeenth century, the rest of the structure having been rebuilt in more recent times. It is often, but incorrectly, stated that this was the church in which Rolfe married Pocahontas

The great wealth of Texas should be subtracted, as in 1860 she held a similar relation to the Confederacy as the great Western territory, whose wealth I have omitted from my calculations, held to the North. This subtraction would greatly increase the disparity between the two sections. Northern writers do not like to mention these figures, for their favorite theme of reproach to the South might receive a setback. Southern writers see no good in publishing them, for the fear of their effect upon capital and labor. But the historian should state them. It is his duty.

The real causes, apart from a great destructive war, which have made the South fall behind the North have been: (1) the existence of two races in the South incapable of assimilation; (2) the vast immigration of the most hardy blood of Europe to the North, due to dislike of the negro element in the South; (3) the laws of the Federal Government, which have favored the North and injured the South,

especially the tariff laws. The differences exist today as sharply as they did in 1860.

However immoral slavery may have been, and however unwilling the people of the South would be to see it restored, the material results of the system are independent of both these considerations. Slavery had one great advantage over present conditions in that it was an organized system. The example of Germany, a highly organized country before the World War, shows that the greatest military and industrial developments are not incompatible with a very limited freedom in the citizen, and no one can be certain that slavery of the Africans in the South would not be a more productive condition than their freedom, especially as long as they remain congested as they are in the South, and race distinctions and race subordinations are thereby perpetuated. There is only one remedy, diffusion of the negroes throughout the United States. There is some hope in the fact that Pennsylvania has now more negroes than Maryland.



# THE AMERICAN FARMER ENTERS POLITICS

By ELMER D. GRAPER

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*How process of economic adjustment after the World War brought financial distress to the American farmer—Deeply lying discontent the basic motive of the rise of the Agricultural bloc—Important legislation due to new alignment*

THE last few years have brought about great changes in American economic life. After enjoying a period of great industrial and agricultural prosperity, stimulated by the World War, the people of the United States, in common with the other participants in that great conflict, have passed through a painful period of economic readjustment. The years since 1920 have been years of deflation and hard times, particularly for the farmers, who were suddenly confronted with the stern fact that the purchasing power of their products was considerably less than it had been before the war.

Economic depression tends to express itself in political action. This was illustrated anew during the last years. Campaigns were waged and won on platforms expressing discontent, and as is usually the case, such campaigns injured chiefly the political party in power. The result was that the almost unwieldy majorities of the Republican Party were reduced almost to extinction.

But this reversal in party politics was not the most alarming sign in the political heavens. Party leaders have learned to look upon such reversals as a logical development of the game of politics. A far more dangerous development, in the opinion of the leaders of the dominant party, was the increasing difficulty encountered by the party in controlling its own members, who showed unmistakable signs of organizing groups based not upon the traditional party alignments, but upon special economic interests. This introduced new and incalculable elements into the already

complex problem of party management. The word "bloc" acquired an ominous meaning. There had been blocs before, but they had worked more or less in secret. The agricultural bloc organized in 1921 openly advocated remedial legislation to benefit the farmer, and this was condemned as a form of class organization contrary to the traditions of the country.

The organization of this bipartisan group and the effectiveness of its work raised the question whether the old two-party system would not be replaced by the group system so common in Europe. This question cannot as yet be answered. The cause of the group's organization was doubtless the prevailing agrarian depression. Should agricultural prosperity return, and there are signs that such will be the case, it is possible that parties may again be better able to work along the old lines, for campaigns can be waged on discontent only when discontent exists, and discontent vanishes in periods of prosperity. The organization and work of the agricultural bloc, however, constitutes the most interesting and significant movement in party politics since the war.

In November, 1920, the voters of the United States expressed themselves overwhelmingly in favor of the candidates of the Republican Party. The reaction against Democratic rule, strong enough in 1918 to give the Republicans control of Congress, two years later carried the Republican candidates into office by majorities that astounded even the most sanguine prophets of Republican victory. The popular vote for President stood as follows:

Harding, Republican, 16,152,200; Governor Cox, Democrat, 9,147,353; Debs, Socialist, 919,799; Christensen, Farmer-Labor, 265,411; Watkins, Prohibition, 189,408, and Cox, Socialist-Labor, 31,175. Mr. Harding thus received not only a plurality of more than 7,000,000 votes, but a large absolute majority of all the votes cast. In the Electoral College Harding received 404 votes, as against 127 for Cox. Every State except Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia returned Republican electors. Even Tennessee gave Harding and Coolidge a plurality of 13,000. Harding's plurality over Cox in New York was 1,086,000; in Illinois, 886,000; in Pennsylvania, 715,000; in Massachusetts, 404,000; in Ohio, 401,000, and in California, 395,000.

In the Congressional elections Republican success was equally decisive. In the Sixty-sixth Congress there were 237 Republicans and 190 Democrats in the House, and 49 Republicans and 47 Democrats in the Senate; in the Sixty-seventh there were 300 Republicans, 132 Democrats and 1 Socialist in the House, and 59 Republicans and 37 Democrats in the Senate. Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kentucky, Maryland, Nevada, Oklahoma, Oregon and South Dakota sent Republicans to succeed Democrats in the United States Senate, while not a single State reversed the process. Not a single Democrat was sent to the House from Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, West Virginia or Wisconsin. Missouri sent 2 Democrats and 14 Republicans.

Thirty-five States elected Governors in 1920. In 29 of them the Republican candidates were successful. Republicans succeeded Democrats in Missouri, Montana, New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Utah and West Virginia.

The overwhelming victory of the Republican Party in 1920 was caused by a widespread dissatisfaction with Democratic rule rather than by a deep confidence in the superior merits of Republican candidates and platform. The Democratic Party had conducted the affairs of the Government during the war crisis. The necessarily

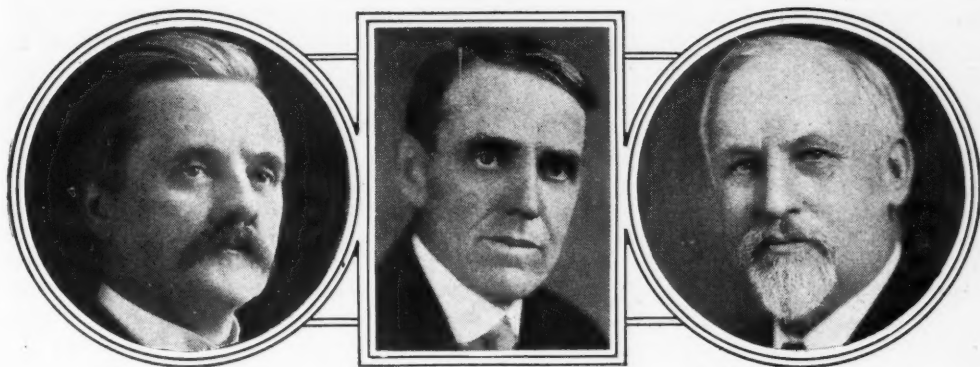
large powers of the Government in war time were not exercised without causing inconvenience to many persons and interests. While the war lasted such inconveniences were for the most part quietly endured, but when peace returned all the accumulated grievances were remembered and credited against the party in power. In such times most people do not make nice calculations relative to the proper apportionment of praise and blame between the party in power and the circumstances that determine its action. They demand a scapegoat, and in 1920 they found one in the Democratic Party.

The specific issues of the campaign, apart from the broad issue of approving or disapproving the conduct of the Democratic Administration, were by no means clear. The one that received the greatest attention, viz., the attitude of the United States in foreign affairs in general, and to the League of Nations in particular, was certainly not presented so as to enable the voters to speak decisively. Beyond showing that a change in administration was desired by a large majority, the election of 1920 cannot be said to have indicated the governmental policies approved by the American people.

#### FIRST AGRICULTURAL BLOC OF 1921

It was natural, therefore, that when the President called Congress in special session there developed wide differences of opinion among the members of the majority relative to party policy. During the Summer of 1921 there was organized a bipartisan group, composed of Western and Southern Representatives of the House and the Senate, for the purpose of promoting legislation in behalf of the agricultural interests of the country, which was then suffering from a widespread depression. This group, generally termed the agricultural bloc, although not numerically strong, soon became one of the most powerful factors in shaping the legislation of the Sixty-seventh Congress. It offered a striking illustration of the power of a compact minority.

The members of the Senate bloc as organized in May, 1921, were William S. Kenyon, Republican, Iowa, Chairman; John B. Kendrick, Democrat, Wyoming;



THE AGRICULTURAL BLOC IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Three of the leading members of the farm bloc of which Senator Capper is Chairman. Left to right: George W. Norris (Nebraska), Arthur Capper (Kansas), E. F. Ladd (North Dakota)

George W. Norris, Republican, Nebraska; Frank M. Gooding, Republican, Idaho; Arthur Capper, Republican, Kansas; Ellison D. Smith, Democrat, South Carolina; Robert M. La Follette, Republican, Wisconsin; Morris Sheppard, Democrat, Texas; E. F. Ladd, Republican, North Dakota; Joseph E. Ransdell, Democrat, Louisiana, and J. Thomas Heflin, Democrat, Alabama. Many other Senators acted with the bloc on frequent occasions. When Senator Kenyon resigned his seat to accept a Federal Judgeship, Senator Capper succeeded him as Chairman of the bloc. The House bloc, composed mainly of Western Republicans, operated under the leadership of Representative L. J. Dickinson of Iowa. More than one hundred Representatives belonged to the organization.

But the real power of these organizations did not lie in the members themselves. It was found rather in the American Farm Bureau Federation, consisting of some 1,500 county farm bureaus, with an aggregate membership of over a million. In fact, it was largely through the work of the representatives of the Federation that the bloc was organized, and through them the members were kept informed of the wishes of the farmers. Senators and Representatives naturally considered carefully the results of referenda conducted in their constituencies. Thus the voice of the farmer became articulate through the methods long employed by other interests.

The demands of the farmers' representatives were by no means identical with those

of the dominant Congressional majority. The two outstanding purposes of the "regulars" were tax reform and tariff revision; the pet project of the farm bloc was legislation to aid the farmer, particularly legislation designed to improve agricultural credit facilities, to encourage co-operative marketing and to regulate the packing industry.

#### FARMERS RELIEF LEGISLATION

For a number of years there had been a strong sentiment in the West favorable to the regulation of the packing industry, and bills to provide such regulation were pending in both houses. Finally in June the House passed the so-called Haugen bill, which deprived the Federal Trade Commission of regulatory power in connection with the packing industry except upon the request of the Secretary of Agriculture. The investigation of the packing industry conducted by the Federal Trade Commission had made that body extremely distasteful to the packers. When the bill came before the Senate it was severely criticized by members of the agricultural bloc, notably by Senators Norris, Kendrick, Kenyon and La Follette, who believed the bill altogether too favorable to the packers and practically drafted by their representatives. In their attempt to substitute the Norris bill they met with defeat, the vote standing 34 for to 37 against the substitute measure. The Norris bill was more sweeping in its regulatory provisions, and proposed to vest regulatory powers in the

Trade Commission. An amendment to the Haugen bill introduced by Senator Kenyon and providing for uniform accounting methods and considerable publicity in regard to the packing industry, although adopted by the Senate, was finally defeated in conference. The packers' bill as passed, though by no means meeting the demands of the bloc, was nevertheless cited as one of its accomplishments.

While this measure was still pending the Senate leaders early in July made an attempt to adjourn the Senate for a Summer recess. It was believed that the object of this manoeuvre was to delay the consideration of farm relief measures on the Senate calendar until the Tariff bill could be passed by the House; the bill would then be given the right of way in the Senate. The defeat of the Lodge adjournment resolution on July 5 by a vote of 24 for to 27 against was a great victory for the farm bloc, since it forced the Senate to remain in session for the consideration of the bloc's remedial legislation. The vote against adjournment was largely due to the vigorous work of the farm leaders supported by the referenda conducted by the Farm Bureau Federation. A considerable number of laws in behalf of agriculture were passed during the remaining six weeks of the special session.

One of the measures especially favored by the bloc was the Norris marketing and export bill, which proposed to set up an independent governmental agency to buy farm products in this country and to sell them abroad to relieve depressed market conditions. This bill was before the Senate on a favorable report of the Committee on Agriculture, of which Senator Norris was Chairman. Late in July, however, the Administration intervened, and at its suggestion Senator Kellogg of Minnesota introduced a substitute measure which provided that the War Finance Corporation be given power to make advances not to exceed \$1,000,000,000 to those engaged in dealing in or marketing staple agricultural products, where, in the opinion of the corporation directors, "conditions arising out of the war, or out of the disruption of foreign trade created by the war, have resulted in or may result in an abnormal surplus accumulation of any staple agricultural prod-

uct of the United States, or lack of a market for the sale of same, or that the ordinary banking facilities are inadequate to enable producers or dealers in such products to carry them until they can be exported or sold for export in an orderly manner." The substitute measure was passed by both houses and approved by the President. The difference between the Norris bill and the Kellogg substitute was clearly indicated by the fact that the former was reported by the Senate Committee on Agriculture, while the latter was handled in the House by the Committee on Banking.

#### THE REVENUE ACT OF 1921

The passing of the Revenue act of 1921 was one of the most important accomplishments of the special session. General as was the demand for tax reform, there were the greatest differences of opinion relative to the changes that should be made. The House bill, presented about the middle of August by the Ways and Means Committee, was forced through that body by one of the most drastic "gag rules" in recent years. All committee amendments took precedence over other amendments, and all amendments were voted upon together. Significant features of the bill were the repeal of the excess profits tax and the reduction of maximum income surtaxes from 65 per cent. to 32 per cent.

In the Senate the measure received careful consideration. The House had considered it two days; the Senate gave it almost seven weeks, during which time there were numerous conflicts between the agricultural bloc and the dominant party organization. Senator Penrose of the Finance Committee reported the bill with the House surtax rate of 32 per cent.; but so strenuous was the opposition to this proposal that the leaders were forced to compromise. The bill was recommitted and was finally reported back with the rates increased to 50 per cent. This was finally accepted, after attempts to restore the old rate of 65 per cent. had failed. The House bill contained a provision exempting from taxation the incomes from foreign investments. This was stricken out by the Senate under the leadership of La

Follette. Senator Smoot's sales tax proposal was defeated.

President Harding attempted to secure a compromise between the House and Senate surtax rates by recommending a rate of 40 per cent., but more than one hundred Republicans joined the Democrats in voting for the Senate rate of 50 per cent., which was finally written into the law. The farm bloc was chiefly responsible for the defeat of the lower surtax rates. Its members insisted that this proposal and the repeal of the excess profits tax were designed to benefit the wealthy. They were by no means satisfied by the law as passed, but they had forced the "regulars" to yield on many points. The Emergency Tariff bill, approved on May 27, 1921, was designed primarily to protect agricultural products from foreign competition, but contained provisions very favorable to the building up of the dye industry in the United States. The Farm Bureau Federation did not credit this legislation to the work of the farm bloc.

During the first regular session of the Sixty-seventh Congress (Dec. 5, 1921-Sept. 22, 1922) the farm bloc continued to press for legislation demanded by the farmers, and secured the enactment of a number of important measures. One of these authorized co-operative buying and selling by farmers; another provided that the President in making appointments to the Federal Reserve Board "shall have due regard to a fair representation of the financial, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests and geographical divisions of the country." This assured the selection of a representative of the agricultural interests.

#### TARIFF AND SHIP SUBSIDY BILLS

The Fordney Tariff bill, passed by the House in July, 1921, was reported to the Senate in April. The bill took up most of the Senate's time during the session. In the votes on this measure there was by no means a united front on the part of the farm bloc. The tariff was considered, as it always is, largely as a party measure, and a number of the members of the bloc stood regularly with the high tariff advocates by demanding protection for agricultural products comparable to that given manufactures. The Tariff bill, as finally enacted,

represents the highest protective tariff ever enacted in this country. It was roundly condemned by the minority as a special privilege measure, but was pointed to with pride by members of the majority. It was doubtless a highly unpopular measure with the rank and file of the voters. In reviewing the accomplishments of the first two sessions of the Sixty-seventh Congress, Floor Leader Frank Mondell on Sept. 20, 1922, declared: "The marvelous achievements of the American people under the leadership and in harmony with the policies of the Republican Party have no parallel in human history, and the roster of the great men who have served the nation and the world as Republicans stands unrivaled in the annals of time."

The third session of the Sixty-seventh Congress was called by the President for the consideration of his ship subsidy plan. The House passed the Subsidy bill, but amended it so materially that it was unsatisfactory to the Administration. The amendment providing for annual Congressional appropriations from the Merchant Marine Fund was particularly unpalatable. The session failed of results in the Senate largely because the Republican leaders attempted to pass the Dyer Anti-lynching bill, against which the Democrats conducted a successful filibuster.

Although the last session was occupied chiefly with the consideration and passage of the annual appropriation bills, a number of other measures were enacted. Two of these were advocated by the farm bloc. The most important one was the Agricultural Credits act, passed the last day of the session. It was a compromise measure containing provisions from a number of bills which had been considered several months. The law as enacted provided for Government credit to farmers for periods varying from six months to three years through intermediate credit banks, one for each of the existing Federal Land Banks, whose capital stock was to be subscribed and held by the Government, and through private farm credit corporations supervised by the Government. Another law favored by the bloc made it unlawful for any person to ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce filled milk, which product was declared an adulterated article

of food injurious to the public health. The subsidy plan, although repeatedly urged by the President, never came to a vote in the Senate. The measure was strenuously opposed in the agricultural regions, and on Feb. 28, largely through the efforts of the farm bloc, that measure was laid aside to make room for the Filled Milk bill.

Thus it appears that during President Harding's Administration a substantial body of legislation in behalf of the agricultural interests was placed on the statute books. It must be admitted, however, that one of the chief factors in bringing about this legislation was the aggressive rôle of an organization with which the Administration leaders were not in sympathy. The general impression in the West was that such legislation as had been passed (and by no means all that was desired was secured) had been obtained, not through the efforts of the Administration, but in spite of its opposition. There was certainly no evidence of gratitude to the Administration in the results of the election of 1922.

One of the greatest achievements of Mr. Harding's Administration was the enactment in 1921 of the National Budget and Accounting act. For the first time in the nation's history an orderly process of budget-making was instituted. There is no doubt that this reform constitutes an important step in our national financial progress and that its enactment was deservedly popular. Another popular act of the Administration was the calling of the Limitation of Armament conference, which accomplished substantial results. President Harding in his last annual message referred to the four-power pact as having abolished "every probability of war in the Pacific."

#### REPUBLICAN MAJORITY WEAKENED

Probably the most significant thing about the Sixty-seventh Congress was the fact that it was without effective leadership. The Republican majority was large, but it was rent by factions. Possibly one of the causes of this factionalism was the very size of the majority. Another was doubtless the lack of strong personalities possessing the gift of party leadership. Moreover, the President would not play the rôle of leader in Congress. He and his

party had roundly condemned Mr. Wilson's "autocracy" during the Democratic régime, and besides such Presidential leadership was contrary to his ideas regarding the office of President.

There were occasions when Mr. Harding assumed a more positive rôle. An instance of this was his attempt to secure a compromise between the House and the Senate in the matter of the income surtax rates, another was his effort to prevent the enactment of the bonus bill, and a third his persistent advocacy of the ship subsidy plan. But in all these he failed to accomplish his object. His own party refused to respond to Presidential desires. The country, however, had become accustomed to Presidential leadership during the Roosevelt and Wilson Administrations. In fact it expects the President to impose his will upon Congress, and it judges him largely by his success or failure in thus securing the legislation he deems desirable and in fulfillment of his party's pledges.

The results of the elections of 1922 showed a very wide change in public opinion since 1920. The party in power generally expects a diminution of its majority in the mid-term elections, and Republican leaders were doubtless counting on some losses. But they were by no means prepared for the extensive changes that actually occurred.

The results of the Republican primaries in the Summer of 1922 filled the party leaders with forebodings for the defeat of regulars by progressives or radicals, indicating a revolt in the Middle West. Thus in Indiana Senator Harry S. New was defeated by former Senator Albert J. Beveridge; in Iowa, Col. Smith W. Brookhart was nominated over a divided opposition; in North Dakota, Lynn J. Frazier defeated Senator McCumber, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee; and in Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot won the Republican nomination for Governor over Attorney General Alter, the organization candidate.

The elections on Nov. 7 almost wiped out the Republican majority in Congress. In the House, the Republican membership declined from 300 to 223, while the Democratic membership increased from 132 to 206; in the Senate, the Republican membership declined from 59 to 53, while the



REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FARMERS IN THE SENATE

Left to right: Frank R. Gooding (Idaho), Morris Sheppard (Texas), John B. Kendrick (Wyoming)

Democratic membership increased from 37 to 42. Democratic Senators were elected to succeed Republicans in Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, West Virginia, and Washington. In Nebraska and Ohio Republicans were elected to succeed Democrats. Senator Lodge himself escaped defeat by the narrow margin of 7,000 votes. The defeat of such staunch Republican leaders as Townsend in Michigan, Poindexter in Washington, Calder in New York, Frelinghuysen in New Jersey, and Kellogg in Minnesota showed unmistakable disapproval of the Republican Party.

Moreover, there have been other changes since the election which reduced still further the Republican majority. In March, 1923, Senator Nicholson of Colorado died, and the Democratic Governor of the State appointed as his successor Alva B. Adams, known as a progressive Democrat. This reduced the Republicans in the Senate to 52 and increased the Democrats to 43. On Nov. 6 Congressman Dale was elected to fill the vacancy in the Senate caused by the death of Senator Dillingham of Vermont.

#### RISE OF FARMER LABOR PARTY

In the State of Minnesota the Republican rout during the past year has been complete. That State was represented in the Sixty-seventh Congress by Knute Nelson and Frank B. Kellogg. The latter was elected to the Senate in 1916 by a plural-

ity of more than 65,000. He was renominated in the primaries of 1922, but in the November election was defeated by Henrik Shipstead, candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party. Shipstead's plurality was almost 85,000. Knute Nelson, who served as Senator from Minnesota continuously since 1895, died early in 1923. Thereupon a special Senatorial election was called. Governor Preus, who in the November election had defeated Magnus Johnson, candidate of the Farmer-Labor Party, by a plurality of about 15,000, secured the Republican nomination in the primaries, while his former opponent was nominated by the Farmer-Labor Party.

The campaign which preceded the special election of July 16 was a spirited contest. Governor Preus conducted his canvass along independent lines. He failed to defend before the voters the accomplishments of his party in national affairs, and even criticized such an important Republican measure as the Fordney-McCumber tariff. Johnson identified himself clearly with the progressive or radical group at Washington led by Senator La Follette, and appealed with remarkable success to the dissatisfied farmers, among whom he had for many years been a popular leader. He was a "dirt farmer" and he gloried in the fact. He knew from personal experience the attitude of that large class, and he proved to be an effective campaigner. The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for Johnson. His plural-

ity over Preus was more than 90,000. He received an absolute majority of all the votes cast.

Doubtless the result of these two contests was due to the prevailing economic distress among the farmers. Our party history shows that when economic conditions are unsatisfactory the voters seek relief by turning against the party in power. For the last five or six years there has been carried on in the West, particularly in such States as Minnesota and North and South Dakota, a strong agrarian movement under the leadership of the Non-Partisan League, which has been an influential factor in the elections of several States, and for some time completely controlled North Dakota. That the recent attempts to bring about a working alignment between the farmer and the urban workers has not been wholly unsuccessful is attested by the fact that in the last Senatorial contest in Minnesota Johnson polled a vote practically equal to that of Preus in the City of Minneapolis. The election of Shipstead and Johnson was caused not only by agrarian discontent. Years of organization and propaganda, successful largely because of the general belief that the major parties have failed to deal sympathetically with the needs of the farmer and the laboring man, were powerful contributing causes.

The election of Johnson reduced the Republican membership of the Senate to fifty-one. This is a fictitious majority, for not a few are included who are not in harmony with the dominant majority. Among these may be listed La Follette of Wisconsin, Ladd and Frazier, Non-Partisan Leaguers from North Dakota, Brookhart of Iowa and Norris of Nebraska, to say nothing of Johnson of California and Borah of Idaho. The Republican progressives and the Farmer-Labor Senators from Minnesota thus hold the balance of power. In the House, the Republican majority depends largely upon the Wisconsin delegation, which is greatly influenced by La Follette.

#### AGRARIAN DISTRESS THE BASIC CAUSE

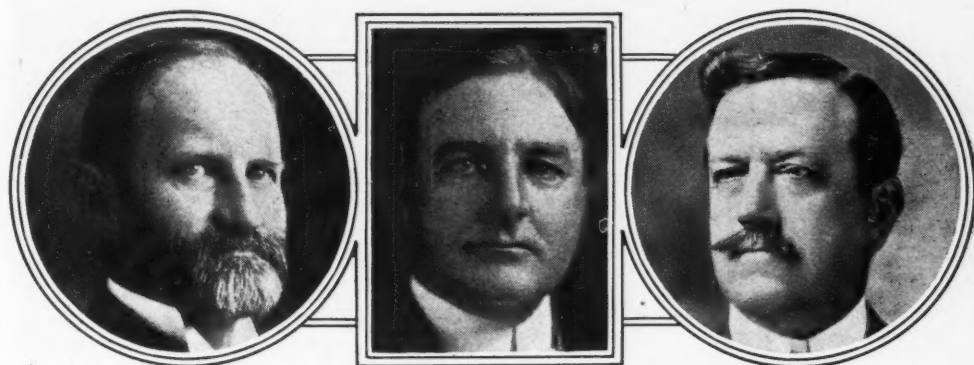
The outstanding economic fact, and the most powerful factor in causing the political changes of the last few years, has been the serious depression prevailing in

the agricultural regions. As pointed out above, a considerable body of laws was passed by Congress to relieve this depression. Doubtless several of them tended to alleviate acute distress by providing more adequate credit facilities to farmers. Many farmers, however, and particularly their spokesmen in and out of Congress, demand still further remedial legislation, some of it radical in character.

There is, for example, a considerable demand that the Government fix the price of wheat, or purchase surplus wheat, at a price above current market quotations. The Farm Bureau Federation is also insisting before the Interstate Commerce Commission that freight rates be ordered reduced. In October, the Administration, through the War Finance Corporation, made an investigation of the agricultural situation with a view to further legislation. The report of the corporation, submitted to the President on Nov. 4, opposed both Government price fixing for wheat and Government purchase of surplus wheat, the latter on the ground that it would doubtless lead to reprisals on the part of foreign Governments. The report urged rather that the wheat farmers be relieved of their present unsatisfactory situation by the adjustment of production to American needs and by the development of an improved co-operative marketing system by farmers, aided by bankers and business men. Diversified farming is probably a desirable thing, but it cannot be instituted in a short time, and it involves many losses for those equipped for raising the great staple crops.

The years from 1910 to 1920 were years of increasing prosperity in American agriculture. In 1910 the value of all farm property in the United States was about \$41,000,000,000; in 1920 it had increased to almost \$78,000,000,000. Land values increased from \$28,500,000,000 to \$55,000,000,000; buildings from \$6,000,000,000 to \$11,000,000,000; farm implements and machinery from \$1,025,000,000 to over \$3,500,000,000, and live stock from \$5,000,000,000 to over \$8,000,000,000. The average value per farm increased from \$6,444 to \$12,084 during the same years.

Equally significant was the increase in the annual gross value of farm products



SOUTHERN MEMBERS OF THE SENATE FARM BLOC

Left to right: Joseph E. Ransdell (Louisiana), J. Thomas Heflin (Alabama), Ellison D. Smith (South Carolina)

up to 1919, its rapid decrease in 1920 and 1921, and its partial recovery since that time as shown in the following table:

1910 .....	\$9,037,000,000
1911 .....	8,819,000,000
1912 .....	9,343,000,000
1913 .....	9,850,000,000
1914 .....	9,895,000,000
1915 .....	10,775,000,000
1916 .....	13,406,000,000
1917 .....	19,331,000,000
1918 .....	22,480,000,000
1919 .....	23,787,000,000
1920 .....	18,328,000,000
1921 .....	12,402,000,000
1922 .....	14,310,000,000

The foregoing figures indicate the reason for the prevailing discontent among the farmers. After enjoying a period of great prosperity during the war years, when their purchasing power rapidly increased, they were forced by a precipitate

fall in the price of their products to a position where their purchasing power was reduced considerably below what it had been before the war.

The table below, prepared by the Department of Agriculture, indicates how serious the situation actually was.

Thus if the year 1913 is represented by 100, the purchasing power of the crop value rose to 129.2 in 1919, dropped to 76 in 1920, to 70.3 in 1921, and then rose to 89.9 in 1922, a point which was still 10.1 per cent. below what it had been in 1913. The purchasing power of animal products was highest in 1918, when it stood at 118. In the year 1919 it dropped to 115.6; in 1920 it was 85.2; in 1921 it was 91.5, and in 1922 it dropped to 88.5. In other words, the products which farmers had to sell declined in price much more rapidly than did the things they had to buy. It is probable that conditions

#### INDEX NUMBERS OF VALUE AND THEORETICAL PURCHASING POWER OF FARM PRODUCTS, 1913-1922

Year	Index of Value of Products			*Wholesale Price Index	Index of Theoretical Purchasing Power of Farm Products		
	Total	Crops	Animal Products		Total	Crops	Animal Products
1913.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1914.....	100.5	99.7	102.3	94.1	106.8	106.0	108.7
1915.....	109.4	112.6	104.1	97.3	112.4	115.7	107.0
1916.....	136.1	147.8	117.1	131.8	103.3	112.1	88.8
1917.....	196.2	219.8	157.4	175.8	111.6	125.0	89.5
1918.....	228.2	233.7	219.3	185.9	122.8	125.7	118.0
1919.....	241.5	251.5	225.0	194.7	124.0	129.2	115.6
1920.....	186.1	177.9	199.6	234.2	79.5	76.0	85.2
1921.....	125.9	113.1	147.1	160.8	78.4	70.3	91.5
1922.....	145.3	146.1	143.9	162.6	89.4	89.9	88.5

\*Based on Bureau of Labor statistics, showing index numbers of wholesale prices, but excluding farm and food products.

were not quite as bad as these figures indicate, for although the wholesale price index, as used in the above table, excluded farm and food products, it nevertheless included some things which the farmer does not ordinarily buy, and did not include some things which he does buy. Even if allowance is made for such factors, however, it still remains true that the years 1920 to 1922 represented years of hardship for the American farmer.

The following table compiled from statistics published by the Department of Agriculture shows the average prices received by producers of the more important agricultural products during the years since 1913:

AVERAGES OF PRICES RECEIVED BY PRODUCERS\*

Year	Wheat	Corn	Oats	Pot'es	Apples	Hay	Cotton	Butter	Hogs	Beef	Veal	Sheep	Lambs	Wool
	Per Bush. Cents	Per Bush. Cents	Per Bush. Cents	Per Bush. Cents	Per Bush. Cents	Per Ton Dollars	Per Lb Cents	Per Lb Cents	Per 100 Lbs Dol's	Per 100 Lbs Dol's	Per 100 Lbs Dol's	Per 100 Lbs Dol's	Per 100 Lbs Dol's	Per Lb Cents
1913..	77.9	75.3	39.6	73.9	81.0	11.45	13.3	27.5	7.68	5.92	7.73	4.23	5.51	15.8
1914..	93.5	78.2	43.3	64.7	58.8	10.96	7.8	26.0	8.11	6.38	8.06	4.80	6.27	18.6
1915..	90.9	70.5	34.5	48.8	62.0	9.83	11.2	25.3	6.79	6.06	7.80	5.06	6.71	23.3
1916..	136.3	82.3	44.5	112.0	83.1	9.65	15.5	29.0	9.22	6.55	8.77	6.25	8.22	28.4
1917..	200.6	175.1	62.3	122.1	106.8	13.83	23.3	38.9	15.69	8.40	11.08	10.05	13.06	54.2
1918..	205.8	159.5	71.0	143.6	133.5	18.45	31.8	47.2	17.50	9.63	12.57	10.79	13.73	57.7
1919..	209.6	153.9	68.4	164.2	171.1	19.79	31.3	51.5	15.81	9.02	13.39	8.69	12.25	51.3
1920..	214.3	121.3	60.7	134.8	132.8	18.94	25.5	54.1	13.98	8.29	11.88	7.24	10.31	28.0
1921..	105.6	51.0	31.0	137.6	186.9	11.36	19.8	38.2	7.51	4.98	7.67	4.11	6.27	15.5
1922..	90.4	61.6	34.5	69.6	109.6	10.78	20.0	36.2	8.23	5.44	8.10	5.70	9.43	31.6
1923..	93.2	85.7	38.6	100.2	115.1	12.42	27.2	41.4	7.81	5.70	8.34	6.57	10.28	37.1

\*United States Department of Agriculture, Weather, Crops and Markets, Oct. 13, 1923, pp. 387-389. The prices of wheat, corn, oats, potatoes, apples, hay, cotton and butter are given as of Oct. 1 of each year. They are averages of reports of county crop reporters, weighted according to relative importance of county and State. The prices of the other products are given as of Sept. 15 of each year.

#### DEBT INCURRED FOR NEW ACREAGE

During the years of high prices for agricultural products the farmers were naturally inclined by self interest to increase their acreage. Moreover, they were urged to do so by all the devices of a widespread and effective Government propaganda. The production of bounteous crops was their part in the winning of the war. The average annual acreage of wheat for the five-year period 1910-1914 was about 49,000,000; for the years 1915-1919 it was 58,549,000. In 1919 the acreage was 75,694,000; in 1920, 61,143,000; in 1921, 63,696,000; and in 1922, 61,230,000. The enormous acreage of 1919 together with the high prices prevailing brought to the producers of wheat more than \$2,000,000,000 in spite of a comparatively low average yield per acre.

Prevailing high prices also encouraged farmers to buy more land. This many of them did in spite of highly inflated land values. It was made easy for the time being by the facility with which credit could be secured. Many farmers went heavily into debt because existing prosperity promised to make the payment of debts easy. Two-dollar wheat might pay for land at \$300 an acre, but \$1 wheat would under such circumstances mean ruin. The condition of farmers who purchased land at inflated prices, and who are now selling their products at deflated prices, is deplorable. Their condition helps to explain the reason for the present agrarian discontent.

It is not to be inferred that the great political changes which have occurred in the United States during the last two years—changes that have practically wiped out exceedingly large party majorities—have all been caused by the prevailing agricultural depression. Many party reversals were doubtless the result of local causes, the personal popularity of the candidates, and factionalism within the parties. Some of the most sweeping party changes occurred in States that are not in the main agricultural. The significant party changes, however, in the Middle West particularly, where probably largely caused by agrarian economic distress. Such reversals and the tendency to organize groups along occupational lines constitute the most momentous and important developments in our politics since the war.

# THE VIRGIN ISLANDS UNDER AMERICAN RULE

By GEORGE WASHINGTON WILLIAMS

Government Attorney, Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John,  
Virgin Islands of the United States

*Misconceptions regarding the administration since the islands were acquired from Denmark—Activities of critics and agitators inimical to rehabilitation—Self-help the great need*

ALTHOUGH the Virgin Islands have now been under the jurisdiction of the United States since the early part of 1917, various misconceptions persist regarding the form of government, methods of administration and other matters. The islands were acquired by treaty with Denmark, signed by President Wilson on Jan. 5, 1917, and the act of Congress providing for their government was passed on March 3, 1917. It is often stated that this Government is a "naval Government," but that is not borne out by the fact that it is left to the discretion of the President to appoint either a civilian or an army or naval officer as Governor. Moreover, it is left to the President to decide how the Governor and other members of the Administration of the islands shall exercise their powers. There is nothing in the act that confers on the Navy Department any power or authority, though the President may, if he so determines, act through the Secretary of the Navy. From this it will be seen that, while the administration of the Virgin Islands is carried on through the Navy Department, it is misleading to speak of a "naval Government."

Some criticism has been occasioned by the attitude of Americans in contrast with that of their Danish predecessors in the matter of interracial intercourse. The Danes, it has been said, thought nothing of fraternizing with the natives of the islands, who are largely descended from Caribs, Arrowaks and African slaves, and, in fact, under Danish rule, they enjoyed a kind of equality. It is true that some of the natives were sent to Denmark for industrial

and manual training, but on the question of social intercourse between the races it may be remarked that no one is obliged to fraternize socially with any other person anywhere in the United States. Nor does the United States Government, so far as I have ever heard, guarantee anything regarding social equality.

Among the controversial matters about which misconception prevails is the part played by the St. Croix Labor Union, a negro organization, and its leader, D. Hamilton Jackson, a lawyer and editor, who was educated in Europe and America. The labor union, which was organized in 1914, includes nearly all the negro working population of St. Croix, and has extended its activities beyond the usual functions of labor unionism by embarking upon the ownership of a bank, a newspaper, a warehouse, and a number of sugar-growing estates. These enterprises have been far from successful, and their failure has been assigned by certain negro critics to the hostility of the Government. The bank has now been out of existence more than three years, and its funds have not yet been entirely accounted for. The newspaper it still being issued, but the eight sugar estates are in an advanced state of decay and dilapidation. So far from the Government having in any way been responsible for the destruction of the estates, the contrary is true, for in the last two years money has been lent from local municipal funds on mortgage to D. H. Jackson, the general manager of the estates. The failure to develop the estates is due to the inability of the owners them-

selves and not to any action of the Government.

D. H. Jackson, who has ambitions along communistic lines, and would like to become a dictator of the proletariat, has come into additional prominence as the result of an editorial he wrote in *The St. Croix Herald* (organ of the labor union) on March 20, 1922. This article referred to Police Court Judge Payne (a member of Jackson's race), and was adjudged contempt of court. After an appeal to the Circuit Court of Appeals of Philadelphia (which has jurisdiction in appeal cases from the Virgin Islands), Jackson served his sentence of six days' imprisonment. While in prison he was elected to the Colonial Council by 43 votes as against 42 and 5 recorded, respectively, for the two other candidates.

The deportation of the Rev. R. G. Barrow, a negro born in the Barbados, has been another of those episodes which have stirred the minds of the negro inhabitants sympathetic to men like D. H. Jackson. The facts of the case may be summed up by stating that before Barrow was deported the Government was in possession of six affidavits to the effect that he had publicly proclaimed in a mass meeting he had lived under a good Government and knew what was a good Government, but that those who wrote *The St. Croix Tribune* had never lived under a good Government, did not know what good government was, and so thought they had a good Government. Barrow, whose ecclesiastical career has been peculiar, formed what he called the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and with Jackson conducted it practically as an organization affiliated with the labor union. This is clear from an examination of several slander cases filed in the District Court, Sub-Judicial District of St. Croix.

Suppression of free speech and the muzzling of the native press have been charged against the present administration of the islands. This is not true. The code provides for such matters, and the provisions are such as obtain everywhere in the United States and the English-speaking world generally. Speakers and writers

have always said what they pleased, subject to the usual responsibility for any statements they might make. Even if local authorities err, there is always recourse to the Court of Appeals, so that no great wrong can be perpetrated against any speaker or writer in the Virgin Islands.

Nor is the franchise as narrowly restricted as has been generally supposed. In the municipality of St. Thomas and St. John there are no fewer than 961 electors, while in St. Croix the number considerably exceeds the 133 which has been mentioned by some critics and agitators. Property is not the only qualification for the franchise, as is shown by the following quotation from the colonial law:

The franchise or right of voting is vested in every man of unblemished character, who has the right of nativity or has resided in the Danish West India Islands for five years, who has attained the age of 25 years, who has not been legally deprived of the management of his property and who either owns a property in the municipality that is calculated likely to yield a yearly rent of at least 300 francs (5 francs to the American dollar) in St. Croix and St. John, and of at least 700 francs in St. Thomas, or in the preceding year has had a clear annual income of 1,500 francs.

The most general complaint by critics of the present Government of the islands is that it does nothing to aid economic development. But the real trouble is that the local capitalists make no great effort to alleviate their conditions. Instead of that, they are continually clamoring for assistance from the United States Government. Yet, while they are paternalists run mad, they selfishly wish to secure all the power for themselves. The Government has not been inactive in matters over which it has control, but the chief tasks of rehabilitation are outside its scope and authority. On the other hand, the critics and agitators are doing the Virgin Islands incalculable damage by continually advertising their adversities to the world. The result is that capital is frightened away instead of being encouraged by statements that business is defunct and the people starving. The greatest need in the Virgin Islands is that the people should try to set their house in order quietly and by orderly approach to the proper authorities.

# CANADA AS A "WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY"

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

American correspondent of the Osaka Mainichi and the Tokio Nichi-Nichi; author of "American-Japanese Relations" and other works

*Canada's determination to remain white evidenced by Chinese Exclusion bill and by gentlemen's agreement with Japan—60,000 Chinese in the Dominion, as against only 17,000 Japanese—The Hindu grievance*

LIKE her sister Commonwealths under the British flag, Canada is determined to remain "white." This policy she has found it no easy task to maintain in the face of clamorous Orientals ever knocking at her doors. Chief among such Orientals are the Chinese, the Japanese and the Hindus.

In April, 1923, the House of Commons at Ottawa passed a Chinese Exclusion bill which created great excitement among 60,000 Chinese in Canada. In Montreal, in Toronto, in Vancouver and in other centres the Chinese population has been holding mass meetings to discuss ways and means to prevent the bill from becoming a law. A delegation was sent to Ottawa to wait upon the Senators and members of the Cabinet. Despite such protests and appeals, the bill is sooner or later bound to become a law.

This is not Canada's first attempt to stem the tide of Chinese immigration. As early as the first years of the '80s, the cry of a "White Canada" was raised against the Chinese. The result was the first anti-Chinese law of 1885, imposing upon each incoming Chinese a poll tax of \$50, and permitting the steamers to bring only one Chinese to each ton of the capacity of each vessel. In 1901 the poll tax was raised to \$100 and in 1904 to \$500.

In spite of this heavy tax, Chinese have been arriving in considerable numbers. This is not surprising, since it is no difficult matter for an intending Chinese immigrant to raise the necessary \$500. Once

admitted into Canada, he can in a year or two easily save enough to pay the debt thus incurred. In the last decade or so, Chinese arrivals in Canada have ranged between 5,000 and 8,000 a year.

One cannot help wondering at the genius and capacity of the Chinese in establishing themselves in all parts of the world. Is there any country under the sun into whose economic system they have not bored their way? In Canada there are some 20,000 Chinese in Vancouver and vicinity alone. Even in the far-eastern city of Montreal we find 3,000 Chinese, while Toronto has 4,000.

The situation has been undoubtedly exaggerated by politicians from the Western Provinces, particularly British Columbia. One of these gentlemen recently declared in the Dominion House of Commons:

In Vancouver alone, Chinese enterprises included 5 owners of garages, 40 butchers, 65 barbers, 172 grocers, 144 candy, ice cream and fruit shops, 63 clothiers, 9 hardware stores, 30 jewelers, 89 restaurants, 38 express and dray establishments, 201 tobacconists, 29 wholesale dealers, 154 peddlers and hawkers, 5 printers and publishers, 54 stationers, and 50 shoe stores.

It is obvious that these figures take in even the meanest activities, some of which are hardly worthy of the dignified appellation of "store" or "shop." Nevertheless, they are indicative of the fear, genuine or feigned, which is entertained by the people of British Columbia regarding Mongolian immigration. Extremists even go so far

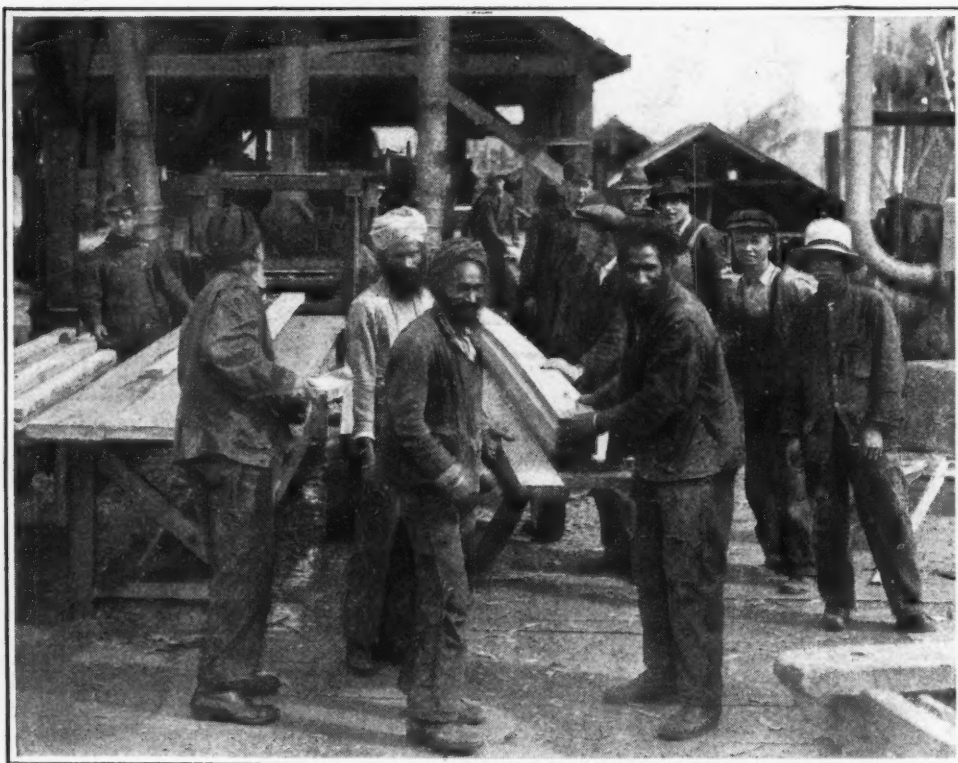
as to urge the closing of all educational institutions, from public school to university, to all prospective Chinese students. "In South Africa," said a Pacific Coast member of the Dominion House of Commons in a recent speech, "the people are talking of segregating the Chinese. That may have to be done in British Columbia, for the two races should not be brought together. It seems to me that if the good Lord had intended Orientals and 'whites' to live in the same country, He would not have put the Pacific Ocean between them. I think the people of the East should remain in their own country; I do not see why we should admit them here and educate them in our schools and colleges."

The Chinese exclusion bill adopted by the Dominion House of Commons proposes to exclude all laborers, small traders (who have heretofore been admitted as merchants) and students below the college grade. Even Chinese laborers domiciled

in Canada are not allowed to send for their wives whom they left in China. Wide authority is given the immigration authorities in determining whether a Chinese seeking admission is qualified to enter. Special agents are to be stationed at Chinese ports, where they will subject to minute scrutiny all passports issued by the Chinese Government. If a Chinese resident leaves Canada without registering with the immigration authorities his intention of coming back within two years, he will not be allowed to re-enter the country. The bill, however, abolishes the poll tax of \$500 which has hitherto been imposed upon each incoming Chinese.

#### RESTRICTION PLAN ACCEPTED BY CHINESE

Next to Chinese immigration the most important Oriental problem which invites the attention of Canada is that relating to the Japanese. Strenuous efforts have been made by the British Columbia members of



Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

Hindu workers at a sawmill in Vancouver Island, British Columbia. Two Chinese will also be noticed at the right of the photograph

the Dominion Parliament to enact a general Oriental exclusion law which will apply to the Japanese as well as to the Chinese and Hindus. Thanks to those efforts, the Dominion House of Commons adopted, in May, 1922, the following resolution:

In the opinion of this House, the immigration of Oriental aliens and their rapid multiplication is becoming a serious menace to living conditions, particularly on the Pacific Coast and to the future of the country in general, and the Government should take immediate action with a view to bringing to an end such further immigration for resident purposes.

In conformity with this resolution, the Canadian Government in the Summer of 1923 entered into an exchange of views with the Japanese and Chinese Consuls at Ottawa for the purpose of arriving at an agreement for further restrictions of immigration. Mr. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, succeeded in inducing the Chinese representative to acquiesce in the exclusion law, the substance of which I have above noted. Unquestionably the Premier considered the settlement of the Chinese question more urgent than the adjustment of Japanese immigration, as Chinese had been arriving in Canada in much larger numbers than Japanese. Moreover, China's international position, owing to her continuous internal disorganization, was such that she could not command the respect of foreign powers in international matters.

The case of Japanese immigration is quite different. It cannot be disposed of without considering the high place which the Western powers have, by common consent, assigned to Japan. If international etiquette means anything, due respect must be paid that position. Canada, in particular, has to remember that the ink is hardly dry upon the paper which has dissolved a historic bond by which she was but yesterday in a relation of quasi-alliance with Japan. Would she not be acting dishonorably if, without sufficient reason or justification, she were to adopt a policy of discrimination against a power with which she has for twenty years traveled hand-in-hand on the road of diplomacy?

It was undoubtedly consideration of such circumstances that prompted Premier King

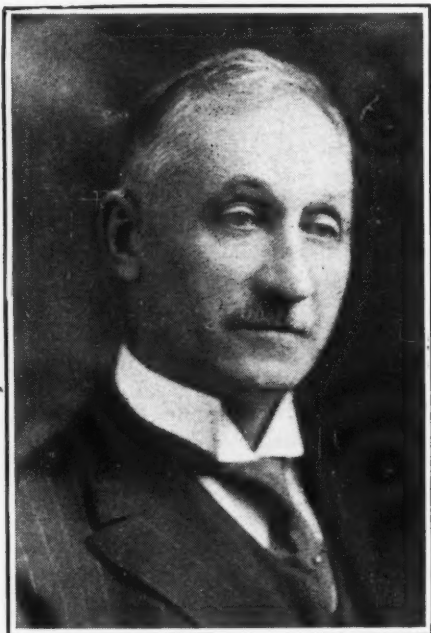
to make the following statement in the House of Commons on April 30, 1923:

The Japanese Government has itself offered to place a greater restriction on the classes of labor coming to Canada than has hitherto been the case. It has expressed the wish that it will not be found necessary for the Parliament of Canada to legislate in a manner that might create serious embarrassment to the Japanese Government, and it hopes that such restriction as Canada is prepared to place upon the classes of labor to which we object would, in the eyes of our Government, be sufficient to prevent the necessity of introducing any invidious legislation.

More recently Premier King spoke in the House as follows:

The Japanese Government offered itself to restrict the number of persons coming to this country in accordance with agreements which might be made between the Government of Canada and the Government of Japan. It was, I think, mainly a matter of national pride with the Japanese. They desire to preserve, in the face of the world, at all events, the right of their citizens to go anywhere, and I say quite frankly that if this Parliament, and particularly our friends from British Columbia, prefer to end any agreement they have only to say so. They have only to insist that such rights as are secured by treaty shall be ended, and we can soon settle in that way, if that way will settle it, the whole question of Japanese immigration. If, on the other hand, this country wishes to preserve trade with the Orient, we shall have to have some regard for matters which, with respect to their citizens, the Governments of the Orient regard as all important. If the Japanese Government is agreeable to making an agreement with this country, which will preserve to that Government such rights as it regards as essential to its citizens, and at the same time avoid, as effectively as any other arrangement can, the immigration of labor from Japan to this country, I think it will be infinitely better for all to adopt the latter course.

The Premier's reference to the importance of Japanese trade is significant. In recent years the balance of trade between the two countries has been decidedly favorable to Canada. No one can ignore the fact that Japan is the fourth greatest purchaser of Canadian products. In the export trade of Canada, Japan is preceded only by the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. It is reasonable to presume that these trade relations will be-



C. P. R. Photo

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBB  
Minister of Immigration and Colonization  
of the Dominion of Canada

come increasingly favorable to Canada, as Japan, lacking raw materials and food products, will naturally buy from the Dominion if the two nations remain on friendly terms.

#### JAPAN AVERSE TO FORMAL TREATY

A "gentlemen's agreement" has existed since 1907 between Canada and Japan, similar to that between the United States and Canada. Japan's persistent objection to including in a formal treaty an article restricting Japanese immigration is, with her, as Premier King explained, a matter of national pride. Jealous of her honor and prestige, she has consistently followed the idea that she should stand before the world upon an equal footing with the leading powers. In pursuance of that idea Japan caused the elimination from the American-Japanese treaty of 1912 of a clause relative to the restriction of Japanese immigration. For the same reason the Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1911, which applies to Canada, states that the "subjects of each of the high contracting parties

shall have full liberty to enter, travel and reside in the territories of the other," and that they "shall in all that relates to travel and residence be placed in all respects on the same footing as native subjects."

As far as the treaty goes, Japan is on an equal footing with England and America. If she entered into a separate agreement restricting the immigration of her nationals to Canada or the United States that was entirely her own arrangement, and it was no business of outsiders to inquire into its provisions. The world is asked to close its eyes to such arrangements, and to recognize only the treaties which place Japan on an equal plane with the leading powers of the West. That, in short, is the way in which Japan prefers to restrict the emigration of her nationals without impairing her national dignity.

So far the Japanese population in Canada is almost negligible. In the entire Dominion there are not more than 17,700 Japanese, as against 60,000 Chinese. In a vast country of 3,700,000 square miles such a small population, if widely scattered, would be hardly recognizable. The chief trouble comes from the fact that more than 16,000 of the total are found in British Columbia. Although this Province has a vast area of 355,855 square miles, concentration of the Japanese in this locality has naturally caused apprehension on the part of Canadians. It should be remembered, however, that it took thirty years to build up the Japanese population of 17,000 in Canada. If the present gentlemen's agreement is made more rigid, as intimated by Premier King, it will be impossible for the Japanese to gain anything like a predominating position in any section of Canada.

The Canadian-Japanese "gentlemen's agreement," as it exists today, limits to 400 a year the number of Japanese immigrants of two classes, namely, farm laborers and domestic servants. The agreement places no restriction upon the immigration of other laborers, nor upon the entry of Japanese, whether laborer or non-laborer, coming back to Canada to resume residence or to continue business which they had established there. Neither does it restrict the admission of parents, wives and children of resident Japanese.

Because of Japan's faithful observance of the gentlemen's agreement, the entry of Japanese farm laborers and domestic servants has been considerably less than 400 a year. From 1909 to 1915 the figures varied between 10 and 45. From 1916 to 1920 they ranged from 100 to 253, and in 1921 they dropped to 70. There are, of course, classes of Japanese who do not come within the restriction of the "gentlemen's agreement." Taking figures for the year 1921 as a typical case of Japanese immigration to Canada, we observe that a total of 1,348 consisted of 188 non-laborers, 810 returning laborers domiciled in Canada, 280 parents, wives and children of resident Japanese, and 70 farm and domestic laborers admitted under the gentlemen's agreement.

Although Canada has jealously restricted the immigration of Orientals, she has extended naturalization privileges to those admitted. Of 17,000 Japanese in Canada some 7,534 have been naturalized. In all provinces other than British Columbia the naturalized Japanese

enjoy full privileges of Canadian citizenship alike, political and civil. In British Columbia, however, their citizenship is limited to the enjoyment of civil rights. This peculiarly is due to the fact that a great majority of the naturalized Japanese in that Province consists of fishermen employed in salmon and herring fishing by the Canadian canning interests. Although most of these fishermen are ignorant or uneducated and ill-qualified for naturalization, the Canadian Government has had to extend citizenship to them, because the law allows only Canadian citizens to fish in Canadian waters. Since fishery is the most important natural resource of British Columbia, and since the Japanese are the most efficient fishermen, the Government has been obliged to resort to this solution. British Columbia, however, doubting the wisdom of conferring unqualified citizenship upon ignorant fishermen, has adopted a measure divesting their citizenship of political rights.

Of all Orientals excluded from Canada the Hindus have, perhaps, the greatest



Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railway Co.

Three English families forming a group of immigrants that recently arrived in Canada to settle in the Province of Alberta. These people are of the type with which the Canadian Government wishes to populate the Dominion, and maintain its British character

cause for grievance. Although the Hindus, like the Canadians, are subjects of his Britannic Majesty, they are not only absolutely excluded from Canada, but are, even when admitted, refused the rights of citizenship. Even those few Hindus who have established their domicile in Canada are not permitted to send for their wives or children whom they left at home. Some fifteen years ago the Canadian Government conceived a scheme for the wholesale deportation to Honduras of all Hindus then found in the Dominion. The scheme was not carried out, but the Ottawa Parliament adopted in 1911 an immigration law containing a clause which made it practically impossible for the Hindus to enter Canada. That clause provides that no immigrants "who have come to Canada otherwise than by continuous journey from the country of which they are natives or citizens, and upon through tickets purchased in that country or prepaid in Canada," shall be admitted. Innocent on the face of it, this provision has most effectively checkmated Hindu immigration, for the reason that there is no direct steamship service between Canada and East India, and that no steamship

companies in India will issue through tickets to Canada.

All this has been a cause of bitter complaint on the part of the Hindus. "The Canadian immigration laws," says a Hindu writer, "have laid a clearly defined line between his Majesty's subjects of Canada and those of India in the face of bold and clear proclamation of our late Queen Victoria. It is a puzzling riddle to be solved that in India we are British subjects, in England we are British subjects, but in Canada, to legalize our British citizenship rights, we have to secure another deed to that effect." In the past fifteen years or so Hindu immigrants to Canada numbered only ten to twenty a year. The latest Canadian census gives no figure for the Hindu population in the Dominion.

The principle represented by the catchword "White Canada" is not necessarily a wrong one, but Canada would do well to reflect that all "whites" are not good "whites." Above all it is to be hoped that Canada and the British Empire will not permit the shibboleth to be exploited by pseudo-publicists and self-styled patriots who have their own axes to grind.

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# FOCH AND LUDENDORFF AS MILITARY STRATEGISTS

By HERMANN JOSEPH VON KUHLE

German General; Chief of the General Staff of the First (von Kluck's) Army and subsequently of the army group commanded by the Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria; author of several books on the war

*A comparison of the two great military minds of the war—Ludendorff's brilliant achievements—His handicaps when at last pitted against Foch in 1918—Foch's qualities and shortcomings*

TWO of the most striking personalities that stand out among the military leaders of the World War are General Ludendorff and Marshal Foch. During the first two years they operated in widely divergent fields, one fighting in Russia, the other in France. It was not until after Marshal Foch was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, in the Spring of 1918, that these two great adversaries crossed swords. From that time on they faced each other as leaders of the gigantic conflict until Germany was overwhelmed by the final catastrophe.

The Germans look upon Ludendorff as a super-man of powerful will; he was the victor at Tannenberg in 1914, on the Somme and the Aisne in 1918, in Rumania and Italy.

France glorifies Marshal Foch because his name is synonymous with final victory. Nations are right in praising their leaders, but it is unfair to humble the defeated and by invidious comparison exalt the victorious.

Marshal Foch is said to have expressed himself repeatedly about Ludendorff in a way that, if he was correctly reported, does not do justice to the achievements of his adversary. Such criticism warrants us in investigating the military achievements of the Marshal. We may well leave it to history to pronounce judgment on both men. History will be just to the under dog and will establish, above all else, the responsibilities of the German chiefs. The superiority of our adversary, considerable from

the start, increased from year to year as Italy, Rumania and finally the United States joined the ranks of our enemies. How small previous wars appear when compared with the World War which spread itself to the Ukraine, to the Caucasus, to Finland and to Palestine! The war in Bohemia in 1868 and the war in 1871 were primarily military; the World War, however, developed into an economic struggle, with the establishment of the hunger blockade which cut at the very roots of the German nation's life and finally proved decisive in bringing the war to a close.

Germany's geographical position caused her the greatest difficulties. There was no opportunity for brilliant manoeuvres as at Königgratz, Metz and Sedan. Germany was practically a beleaguered fortress. The industry and technique of the entire world were at the disposition of the enemies of Germany. Their numerical superiority was annihilating and grew in proportion as the forces of blockaded Germany became paralyzed.

In making a comparative study of two great army leaders, such circumstances should be considered. Let us first examine the activities of Marshal Foch in the first year of the war, while his later opponent was fighting in the East.

At the beginning of the war General Foch was commander of the Twentieth Army Corps, which was part of the Second Army of General Castelnau. By the latter's friends Foch is charged with having

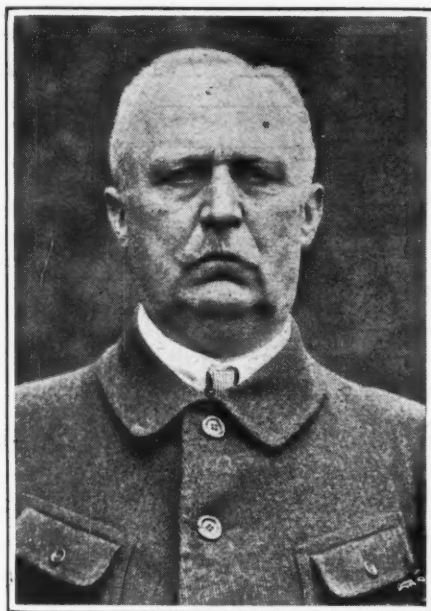
caused the defeat of his men at the battle of Sarrebourg on Aug. 2. Historical investigation has not yet cleared up this point. General Foch disputed the contention. In his denial he declares: "The Twentieth Army Corps does not retreat except when ordered expressly to do so." High-sounding words are Foch's favorites, yet after Aug. 20 he retreated without "special orders." The same thing occurred at the battle of the Marne on Sept. 8-9, when Foch was commander of the Ninth Army.

A legend was created concerning the conduct of Foch during these days. When Marshal Foch was received as a member of the French Academy Poincaré, who made the reception speech, thus described the threatened position of the Ninth Army: "One more effort and the gap was opened. At this moment the Forty-second Division, which by an ingenious stroke Foch diverted from his left wing to the threatened right wing, changed defeat into victory." It is not known that Foch ever contradicted this contention. It is also reported that on Sept. 9, when his situation was critical, he thus addressed General Joffre: "My right wing is dangerously threatened; my centre is giving way; it is impossible for me to move; the situation is excellent; I attack."

Whether these words are historical remains to be proved, but they are similar in character to previous expressions of General Foch. What was the situation in reality? Conscientious French investigation has long since arrived at justice and truth. The beautiful picture of the Forty-second Division marching behind the Ninth Army from the left to the right wing with flags fluttering, ready to attack, vanishes into nothingness.

After a long march the division arrived, exhausted, in the evening, and, being unfit to lead an attack, went into encampment. In the meantime, owing to an unjustified decision of the commander of the Second German Army, the German troops voluntarily withdrew. This decision had nothing to do with the dispositions taken by General Foch, but was due to conditions prevailing on the German right wing at an altogether different place on the battlefield.

There is no gainsaying the fact that Foch suffered a heavy defeat on Sept. 8 and 9.



ERICH VON LUDENDORFF

The German General who is usually credited with having laid down the German military plans in the later stages of the war

His headquarters had to be abandoned in haste. The beaten right wing of his army was in full retreat. The next day it was an agreeable surprise for him to find the Germans had left. On this occasion Foch showed that characteristic quality of his, an unalterable optimism which never left him in the most trying circumstances. He displayed that same quality in the following months of October and November, 1914, in the march to the sea. Foch was charged by Joffre to unify the operations of the French, Belgians and English on the left wing between the Oise and the sea. Through his personal intervention, Foch prevailed over the Belgians, who had wished to retreat upon the Calais-Havre line, to make a stand on the Yser, and later he kept Marshal French from retreating, as he had planned.

Foch is credited with having prevented the Germans from encircling the left wings of the Allies, otherwise the Channel zone would have been in the possession of the Germans. After this Foch was left at times quite isolated. We may therefore pass over this period.

## LUDENDORFF'S RECORD IN THE EAST

It was not until March, 1918, that Foch's star rose on the horizon. Let us see what General von Ludendorff accomplished in the meantime. To his personal heroic courage was due the capture of Liège in the first days of the war. This event opened the way to the forward march from both sides of the army's right wing. Soon afterward Ludendorff was appointed Chief of Staff to General von Hindenburg and transferred to the east. Here he won one of the most brilliant victories of the World War—the battle of Tannenberg. With one stroke the unfavorable position of the Germans was changed and East Prussia was delivered from the enemy.

The army of General Rennenkampf, coming from the Nieman, had invaded East Prussia, while the army of General Samsonov was advancing from the Nareva in the south toward Allenstein. The Commander-in-Chief of the German Army, whose mission it was to defend East Prussia, saw himself surrounded on both sides by superior forces. He adopted a most audacious resolution. Deciding to leave against Rennenkampf but a very weak force of cavalry and to concentrate all his troops to turn the army of Samsonov, he succeeded in winning a victory comparable to Hannibal's victory at Cannae by surrounding both wings of the enemy army and destroying them.

But few such battles are recorded in the world's history. The Russian Army of the Nareva was smashed to pieces and 92,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the victors. After this the German Army was led against the Nieman army of Rennenkampf, whose position was behind the German lines in the Mazurian marshes. Only a quick retreat saved Rennenkampf's army from destruction.

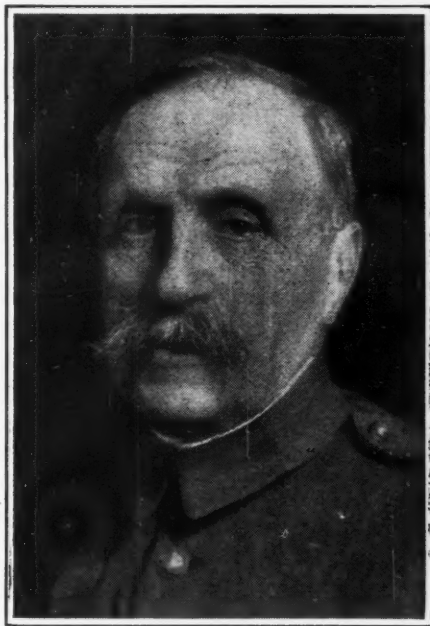
General Buat, Chief of the French General Staff, calls the battle of Tannenberg a masterpiece and the operations of Ludendorff in the Mazurian marshes a classic. Just as brilliant as the battle of Tannenberg, won in November, 1914, were the operations of Ludendorff in the first battle of the Mazurian marshes.

In October, after the campaign in South Poland, the Germans had to leave the Vistula to return to Silesia owing to far su-

perior forces led by Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch. The road to Germany was seemingly open to the Russian "steam-roller."

The German Commander-in-Chief then ventured to shift the few army corps at his disposal and on Nov. 10 he led a surprise attack against the right flank of the main forces of the Russian Army, who were advancing in the direction of Silesia. Thus he succeeded in stopping the attacks of the enemy, and by so doing saved Germany from invasion. The German commander had still a higher aim, and that was to gather up, so to speak, the entire Russian front. But the reinforcements sent by the higher command of the west did not arrive in time, and Ludendorff could not wait for them, otherwise his operations would have been among the most brilliant in the World War and would greatly have influenced the course of events.

Let me now recall the campaigns in Rumania in 1916, and in Italy in 1917. On Aug. 29, 1916, a change occurred in the high command when Hindenburg and Lu-



FERDINAND FOCH

The French General who as commander of the combined armies of the Allies planned and obtained the final victory over Germany

Ludendorff took the place of Falkenhayn in the eastern operations. Then Central Powers were then facing a grave crisis, Rumania having declared war on Austria on Aug. 27, while the battle of the Somme on the western front had inflicted heavy losses on the German forces. But in a few months a change took place. At the end of November Rumania was beaten in a brilliant campaign. A practically identical defeat met the Italians a year later. Again was Austria in need of help from her allies. It was doubtful if she could further resist the Italian attacks on the Isonzo. It was a daring act to send German forces to the Italian front at this time, when for months the English had been attempting to pierce the German front in Flanders. Yet Ludendorff took the chance.

In a few weeks the Italians were thrown behind the Piave. French and English divisions, dispatched in all haste, arrived and stopped the onslaught. The Italian Army, however, never recovered from the blows inflicted there.

#### CROSSING SWORDS WITH FOCH IN 1918.

We have now arrived at the eve of the great German offensive in 1918, where Foch and Ludendorff faced each other as adversaries. In this year, particularly, the two leaders were subjected to comparison by the military critics. On both sides it was admitted that in 1918 a decisive result would be obtained. But the two chiefs fought under altogether different conditions.

During 1918 the Commander-in-Chief of the German armies had to take into consideration the strong American reinforcements coming to the Allies. While the Allies were being reinforced with fresh troops it looked doubtful whether Germany and her allies could command enough men to continue the war. The standing of the Bulgarians was not considered secure. The economical conditions of Austria became more and more discouraging. The strength of Turkey was coming to an end. All the allies of Germany were supported by the belief and the hope of German success in the west. The results of the "U" boat warfare were not such as to make for a change to the

advantage of Germany. The "U" boats alone could not do that. The state of the German armies and conditions in the Fatherland were such as to make the immediate ending of the war imperative. After four long years of fighting the reserves were exhausted. It was evident that a crisis requiring new reserves would take place in the Summer. The impossibility of providing such reserves led to quick negotiations.

At home in Germany economical needs due to the blockade fell heavily upon the people. The resistance of a nation without strength, which had courageously borne the heaviest sufferings for many years, began to give way. This fact decided the German commanders to attack in the Spring of 1918. After the crumpling of Russia all available forces could be used for this purpose. It did not give a marked superiority, but the attack could be calculated with full knowledge. A serious question was the one relative to the mobility of the army for such large operations. There was a great lack of horses due to the scarcity of fodder, and other needed material for transportation was not available. Only a certain number of divisions were partially equipped, and this at the expense of other divisions, whose mobility was correspondingly impaired.

In France and in England the opinion prevailed at the beginning of 1918 that after the Russian defeat the Germans would attack in the west with the divisions drawn from the eastern front before the Americans were able to participate actively in the attack. The Entente decided to remain on the defensive, but was in a more advantageous position to attack than was Germany. The Supreme War Council, at a meeting at Versailles, was of the opinion that the allied armies were ready to resist the German attack. The Commander-in-Chief of the French Army, General Pétain, held that the attack should be made only after numerical superiority was attained by the arrival of sufficient American troops. The trump card in the hands of the Allies was the attack by Americans. Until then the forces must be economized in the expectation of an offensive to be undertaken in proper

time. At the same time, war material, such as airplanes and tanks, must be increased while the Germans were wasting their forces.

On March 21 took place the great attack between Arras and La Fère, which virtually wiped out the entire English Army. General Foch is not to blame for the mistakes of the allied groups which caused this defeat. It was at one of the most distressing moments when defeat faced the Allies that all eyes were turned upon Foch. It was an eventful day, the turning point in the war—that 26th day of March, when in the Supreme Council held in Doullens Foch was entrusted with the task of unifying the operations of the Allies on the western front. This mission was further extended in April by the appointment of Foch as Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies. Thus was achieved the unity of interallied command and of interallied activity.

#### BRILLIANT OFFENSIVES IN FRANCE

Foch succeeded in opposing stiff resistance at Amiens and in preventing the breaking through of the Germans. The divergent interests of the French, who, above all, thought of protecting Paris, and of the English who wanted to escape through the Channel ports, were made to conform to the war plans of the chief commander. No one will refuse the credit due to General Foch, but every one should acknowledge the extraordinary results of General Ludendorff's offensive. In eight days the Germans had pierced the enemy's lines to a width of seventy-five kilometers and a depth of sixty kilometers, while the English and French in the Summer of 1916 at the battle of the Somme had succeeded in five months' time only in piercing through twelve kilometers, and in 1917, in the battle of Flanders, in four months' time penetrated only eight kilometers.

The strength of General Foch as demonstrated by him up to that day had lain in his optimism, his coolness, his energy and will power, qualities of character which General Ludendorff possessed to the same degree. From April, 1918, however, the new commander of the Allies had the opportunity to show whether, as has been stated, he was a superior

strategist. After the German offensive in Flanders near Armentières a lengthy interval occurred. The principal duty of the chief commander of the Allies was to place his reserves in the right spot. After the Somme and Lys Foch shifted them to his left wing, apparently against the advice of Pétain. It so happened that the German attack near Soissons and Rheims on May 27 took the French by surprise and resulted in a brilliant German victory. For the second time during the war the Germans won on the Marne, and again a catastrophe threatened France. Clemenceau was questioned in the Chamber of Deputies and had a hard time. Demands were made for a new Commander-in-Chief in place of the much-praised Foch. It was not Foch's military science that saved the situation, but the American help, for which the French looked anxiously and which finally arrived.

At the beginning of June, after the conference of the Supreme War Council, an appeal was made to the President of the United States. The war would be lost if great numbers of American troops did not arrive. Transportation of American troops was so hastened that by July, 1918, a million men had been landed, and by the following November two million men were on French soil. In May and June American troops took part in the fighting and American divisions fought strenuously to hold back the German attack in July. The Frenchman Pierrefeu gives a vivid description of the arrival of American troops. The appearance of the Americans as they marched through the streets of Coulommiers and Meaux in the midst of a jubilant crowd, their healthy looks, their new equipment, worked wonders.

New life was injected into the bloodless bodies of the French. Lack of space prevents a more detailed account of the important part played by the Americans in the French counter-offensive of July 18, but from then on in the battles fought during the Summer and Fall months, though they were somewhat lacking in respect to training and leadership, their work was effective, owing to their numbers, their unused strength and their vigorous methods of attack against an exhausted and depleted German Army.

The United States did not only contribute huge sums of money and formidable material; it was in a position to oppose to a weary and hungry enemy an inexhaustible reserve of men. France poses as the victor in the World War and does not like to be reminded that it was only through foreign help that she was saved from collapsing. The historically proved fact remains that it was not the superior strategy of General Foch that finally brought his adversary Ludendorff low.

On July 15 occurred the last great German offensive from Rheims. The result was not successful; the attempts to surprise the enemy miscarried, and the German forces had to give way. Foch had accurately calculated the direction of the attack and, it must be acknowledged, had well taken his precautions. His reserves were at their place this time. He had drawn about eight divisions of French troops from Flanders and had had them transferred to the French front. Field Marshal Haig, moreover, had reluctantly given the French front four divisions and had increased by four other divisions his right wing. This enabled Foch to transfer four more divisions from his left wing to his centre. These shiftings were completed before July 15. The German attacking forces were exhausted with this last offensive.

The counter-attack of Foch south of Soissons followed on July 18. This was Foch's great day, the day when his reputation was made. From that day began the turning point of the war. What credit is due Foch for this change must be established. "Pétain as well as Foch had agreed that, beginning in July, the time had come for an offensive. At last the long wait was at an end. The Americans in great numbers were behind us, the artillery and the tanks had been put in shape and increased, the road was free for the long deferred offensive." The above is quoted from statements by a staff officer of General Pétain's headquarters. The decision to attack was not taken suddenly, but was a result of mature consideration. The conditions upon which depended the decision had now been met. The numerical strength and the superiority of material had been assured.

The decision to attack was in the air. As far as we can learn from French sources, Pétain as early as the middle of June had made preparations for an offensive in the vicinity of Soissons, which was to be more of a local character. General Mangin, commander of the Tenth Army, was to extend the offensive by a surprise attack against the entire German position. Whoever made the suggestion of a flank attack by Soissons, the fact remains that the energetic and successful execution of this idea is to be credited to Foch, and it led to his promotion as Marshal of France on Aug. 7. In the execution of this offensive the personality of Pétain was forced into the background. Pétain hesitated and was confronted with the German offensive from Rheims on July 15. But Foch was not deceived, he continued his preparations to begin his offensive on July 18. The result of this surprise attack, aided by numerous tanks coming from Villers-Cotterets, was great. Again Pétain came in the way; he did not think that the forces at his disposal would warrant more than a small result. But Foch ordered the continuation of the offensive. Foch was without doubt the motive power, and no one can take from him the credit due him for the advance of July 18.

#### LUDENDORFF'S FINAL FAILURE EXPLAINED

The second part of the great struggle in 1918 then began. With the counter-attack of July 18 is linked the great offensive, Marshal Foch, through alleged ing of the war in November. What General Ludendorff did not accomplish in his offensive, Marshal Foch, through alleged superior strategy, is said to have accomplished—the overthrow of his adversary. But was this result really due to superior strategy or merely to the force of circumstances?

From the middle of July the Germans had been reduced to the defensive. The initiative had passed to the Allies. Marshal Haig in his war reports explains the change in the war situation thus:

"The German Army had brought its utmost power into play, and it was in a state of collapse. The highest point of its efficiency had been passed. The mass of reserves concentrated during the Winter

had given out. The allied situation respecting available troops, however, had greatly improved. The new reserves which had joined the armies at the end of Spring and the beginning of September were trained and organized. The British Army was ready to take the offensive, while the American Army was rapidly increasing and had given overwhelming proof of the fighting capacities of its soldiers."

It is true that the German Army, after four years of war, was near exhaustion. The reserves were at an end. The gaps which had been made by continuous fighting could not be refilled. The troops were overworked. The allied tanks effectively thinned out the exhausted German troops. It was not possible for the Germans to create such military agencies in appreciable quantity at a moment's notice. The English General Maurice, commenting on the continuous attacks against the German positions, says: "It is certain that neither the well-prepared measures taken by Foch nor the valor of our infantry, would have brought us victory, if we had depended solely on victory over the German defensive positions through encirclement." Of a later period, in the Fall of 1918, General Maurice says: "The German troops fought brilliantly, but our superiority in tanks, and the exhaustion of the German troops, made the situation hopeless."

Notwithstanding this, there are many English and French authors who attributed the result of the operations in the Summer and Fall of 1918 principally to the high strategic qualities of Marshal Foch. The Frenchman Tardieu expresses himself as follows: "French intelligence won over German intelligence." The superior method of Foch is compared to the "Ludendorff method" by such critics.

Marshal Foch, it is said, admitted that to break through was possible only if the enemy reserves were dispersed. "Through a succession of prepared fights the last attack was decisive. Ludendorff, on the other hand, meant to break through in March, and renewed the attacks until his forces became too weak. He waited, however, too long between attacks, instead of giving blow for blow until the enemy's reserves were used up."

#### GERMAN TACTICS UNJUSTLY CRITICIZED

The chief spokesman for this criticism is the French General Buat. It is his view that any single attack, however powerful it may be, is bound to fail sooner or later. As soon as the enemy has taken cognizance of the point of attack, he must concentrate there his reserves. This, General Buat points out, was accomplished quite quickly in France, owing to the well-developed system of communications. To attempt therefore to break through the enemy front, before the hostile reserves were shattered or used up, was futile. This, however, was possible only through a series of preparatory attacks.

The chief mistake of General von Ludendorff, it was further pointed out, was a priori, the attempt to break through with a single even though large-scale offensive. His later attacks followed one another with such long periods between them that his adversary was able to recover and fill up his ranks. "Therein lay Ludendorff's greatest weakness."

This criticism is absolutely unjustified, as the German commander never considered the situation in the light of General Buat's. The German forces were insufficient to fight the enemy reserves before the big blow to be dealt by a series of partial attacks. They were even insufficient to divert the main offensive of March to another position, as desirable as this would have been. As already stated, the German command was composed of but a limited number of divisions possessing the necessary horses and other material. The size of the attack depended also on available artillery. An extension over fifty kilometers was not feasible, even if all available forces could have been assembled. Had Ludendorff used his available forces on partial attacks, it is certain that when the time came for the principal attack his forces would have been used up. There was, therefore, nothing else to do but to get all available forces together and strike the big blow delivered on March 21.

I have already pointed out how near the Germans then came to reaching their goal, though their effort to break through proved unsuccessful in the end. There was nothing else for Ludendorff to do,

knowing that his forces were weakening, but to renew his offensive at other points, even though it diminished his chances. The reason why these attacks were delayed lies in the fact that Ludendorff, in order to carry through a new offensive, had to assemble the necessary forces from the former front and regroup them. He was obliged to give his divisions a short rest. The artillery, fliers, mine throwers, tanks, and so forth, had also to be taken into consideration. This could not be done without great loss of time. That this was undesirable, General von Ludendorff was very well aware, as General Buat later discovered, but the German commander was compelled by the force of circumstances to follow this course. It is, therefore, unjust to compare "Ludendorff's method" with that of Foch.

Marshal Foch did not have to contend with such troubles, when in the middle of July he began his offensive. He needed no method and had no occasion to apply any special method. He did not have to destroy the German reserves, as these were used up in their own offensive. Foch's forces cumulatively increased through the daily arrival of Americans while the exhaustion of the Germans kept on progressing.

A very competent French critic points out in the *Revue Militaire Générale* that Foch had enough fighting forces to make it unnecessary for him to wait, like Ludendorff had to, for one operation to be completed before starting another one; it is this that constituted his "superiority" over the adversary.

It is a fact that Foch ordered continuous large-scale operations in July, August, September and October; but all he had to do was to take advantage of his ever-growing superiority to attack and repulse the enemy on the entire front. His object was to encircle the Germans widely and cut off the retreat of their left wing over the Rhine. But what did he accomplish? Nowhere was there encirclement, nowhere a breach, nowhere a Sedan or a Cannae, or a Tannenberg, but only front battles which repulsed the enemy slowly without destroying him. At the time the armistice was signed it had been planned to surround the Germans through Lorraine.

One cannot tell if such an eventuality would have brought the desired result. Ludendorff can well measure up to such strategy. The final victory, as remarks Grouard, a French military writer, was due only to the exhaustion of the adversary.

#### FOCH'S RELENTLESSNESS AFTER ARMISTICE

After the war Foch remained a pitiless adversary. In the peace negotiations in 1919 he insisted stubbornly that the Rhine should be the military frontier of Germany. The territory on the left bank of the Rhine was to be torn from Germany. His attempt failed, owing to the attitude of the English Premier, who "did not want a new Alsace-Lorraine," and owing also to President Wilson, who refused to countenance the parceling out of Germany. The reason alleged by Foch was that "the Rhine must remain the protector of the Western peoples of Europe and of world civilization." What France understands by such civilization is illustrated today in her harsh handling of a wholly defenseless population in the Ruhr territory.

According to newspaper reports Foch has on various occasions referred, since the war, to the strategy of Ludendorff. To an editor of the *Intransigent* he expressed himself as follows: "Ludendorff is a remarkable officer of the General Staff; no more, no less; one who knows his business from the very foundation. As a follower of the school of Frederick the Great he is superior in all that concerns the handling of an intricate army organization. On the other hand, he is completely ignorant of the essential nature of a war of peoples, in which the greatest interests, even the very existence of these peoples, are at stake, and in which moral forces play the leading part."

The basis for this last opinion is not apparent. Ludendorff's powerful will was concentrated in this war on using the collective strength of the German people in one vast unified effort, to keep up at the front, as well as at home, the will to victory. His confidence in the Fatherland was unlimited. He never despaired. His only thought, his only aim, was a German victory.

# HISTORY'S VERDICT ON FOCH AND LUDENDORFF

By EDWARD F. MCGLACHLIN

Major General, United States Army; commander of army artillery and Chief of Artillery, First Army, May-November, 1918; appointed Commandant Army War College, July 13, 1921

*Difficulties of estimating military genius so soon after the war—Both the French and German leaders undoubted masters of the art of warfare*

A MILITARY hero is a political asset to a State that desires to conquer or to hold over its neighbors a threat of force to establish or maintain its dominance. Prior to and, particularly, after the Franco-Prussian War, there was developed a painstaking and successfully nurtured cult of the elder von Moltke. So now, it may be more than suspected, there are organized efforts to idolize both Foch and Ludendorff. Were Hindenburg a younger man, he might be the object of such glorification on the German side.

Perhaps because propaganda is so clearly sensed, these deifications are attacked by counter-assaults upon such leaders. As von Moltke was belittled by Frenchmen, so Foch and Ludendorff are depreciated by partisans who forget that to humble one is equivalent to lowering the prestige of the other. After the Franco-Prussian War, defense of Bazaine was impossible, of MacMahon difficult. Contempt of von Moltke, however, could not cloud their reputations, though it may have encouraged the confidence and self-reliance of the French people.

The present situation is different in that German political opinion is divided into strongly imperialistic, democratic and communistic elements. Ludendorff is both harshly criticized (for example, by the historian Hans Delbrueck) and extravagantly praised in Germany. Foch is generously supported by the French people.

Among the prominent advocates of Ludendorff is General von Kuhl, whose article [published in the preceding pages] as

a contribution to controversial military literature, is both interesting and valuable. It is not, however, conclusive. Clearly it is not a thorough, coldly scientific historical inquiry into his chosen subject. At this day we are among the mists of fiction or mythical tradition regarding the World War and its leading figures. No final, incontrovertible estimate of the leaders in that war can yet be made. The sketch under consideration may, on the whole, seem fair, yet the scant quotation submitted does not warrant either a charge of injustice against Foch for his alleged comments on Ludendorff or a prejudiced investigation of his conduct.

It may be agreed that Foch had a magnetic personality inspiring Frenchmen to go forward, to do and to die. Judging Ludendorff by his photographs, his own writings, by intimate friendly descriptions of his personality, even by his decisions and actions in some circumstances, he was most austere and domineering—a technician, a doctrinaire who fought war absolutely as an art and as a science without understanding of the mass psychology (especially as that psychology changed and developed) of the men under him or of the people whom he served. A man of such attributes could not successfully have commanded the allied armies, although he seems to have functioned effectively during the period of iron discipline in the German Imperial Army.

As a writer and as a teacher of strategy, Foch clearly excels Ludendorff. The Marshal's two books, "The Principles of War-

fare" and "The Conduct of War," mark him as a writer of the highest order. No books produced by Ludendorff before the World War compare with those of Foch.

Marshal Foch was not pitted against General Ludendorff, mind to mind, until after the drive of March 21, 1918, when the situation very much resembled that of the Civil War during the final campaign of 1864-65. The death knell of the Germans had all but sounded. They were capable of but one more thrust. To base a comparison of Lee and Grant upon the final campaign alone and to judge them by their accomplishments therein, would be like comparing Ludendorff with Foch in the concluding campaign of the World War. Any deductions would be unfair to both Generals, for each was functioning under circumstances entirely different from the other.

#### FOCH'S STRATEGY IN THE WORLD WAR

Let us analyze more in detail the careers of these two men in the World War. Foch starts out as Commander of the Twentieth Army Corps. Ludendorff is head Quartermaster of von Bülow's Second Army. Their accomplishments in the opening campaign reflect on each the greatest credit. During the early operations in Lorraine, Foch handled his Army Corps tactically in an excellent manner. Upon the withdrawal of the French Army, this corps assisted greatly in covering the retreat. During the preliminary fighting up to the battle of Nancy of Sept. 6 it contributed to holding back the Germans.

The withdrawal of the French Army in Lorraine, whether voluntary or forced, was one of the first causes of the breakdown of the German plan that led to the Teutons' defeat on the Marne. The Germans virtually were drawn on and compelled to throw their centre of gravity to their left instead of to their right, as they had intended. Thus they permitted themselves, though superior in number, to be pinned to the ground by lesser numbers of French. The French were able to move reinforcements to their fighting line on the Marne, whereas the Germans were unable to send assistance to their hard-pressed First, Second and Third Armies. Any French corps commander who took part in

this affair with credit is entitled to high praise.

Many French writers refer to Foch as the victor of La Fère Champenoise. They consider the fighting in that locality most decisive, and try to convey the impression that an attack by Grosetti's Forty-second Division was what pierced the German centre between the Second Army of Bülow and the Third Army of Hausen, and caused the entire right wing of the German Army to fall back. This statement is not true. The German decision to retreat had been made hours before the pressure of the Forty-second Division began to be felt. The Forty-second Division was withdrawn from the line, not with the deliberate intention of putting it into a counter-attack, but because it was exhausted and needed rest. As to the statement alleged to have been made by Foch on Sept. 9, and quoted by General von Kuhl, it is too full of absurdity to be seriously considered as coming from any military student, much less from the accomplished scholar Foch. At any rate, during those trying days he was optimistic, and would not even think of defeat, illustrating the truth of the saying: "No one is defeated until he is willing to admit defeat."

The race to the sea started before Foch was placed in command of the Northern Army group, and was really a race between the railroads of France and the French and Belgian railroads which Germany had taken over. The French railroads won—to the everlasting credit of General Payot and his efficient staff. The hard fighting that occurred on this wing after Foch took command presents many evidences of skill in tactical handling of troops and disposition of reserves. From that time on there is apparently nothing in which Foch took part that outshone the work of others.

At the time Marshal Foch was elevated to the position of Generalissimo the flood-gate of American troops had been opened. German reserves were almost exhausted, but before the full American supply could arrive the Aisne-Marne drive occurred. The counter-attack against the base of the salient in the direction of Soissons, in which the First and Second American Divisions participated, was skillfully car-



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Major General, U. S. A.

ried out, and the point selected for the attack is open to no criticism. If the Germans were deliberately allowed to advance until they formed a long wedge with its apex on the Marne so that they could be attacked later at the base of the salient, it was a clever piece of strategy, but this is unbelievable by any who saw the ill effects of the German advance upon French confidence and morale. However, if the point of attack was conceived after the German drive had stopped, it is hard to see an example of strategical genius. The failure of the Germans on the other flank of the salient, toward Rheims, was due to the skillful dispositions of General Gouraud made possible by his advance information of the exact hour of the coming attack, that is, by the absence of the element of surprise.

In the final operations subsequent to this Aisne-Marne drive, the Allies had a supply of reserves so great as to make them stronger than the Germans at any point. Notwithstanding this there appears to have been no attempt at strategic manoeuvres. There was to be an attack

all along the line from the Moselle to the coast, later to the Swiss frontier. One cannot say whether or not a Cannae, a Sedan, a Tannenberg, could have been brought about had it not been for the armistice. It is somewhat doubtful whether Foch should be given credit for placing the freshest army and the one with the greatest élan at the most difficult point, that is, near the pivot. There was strong insistence by the Americans on the formation of their own army in an important area. It was an American conception that its first great task should be the flattening of the St. Mihiel salient and the capture from the Germans of necessary national resources, such as coal and iron. That its use on the Meuse-Argonne front was no long foreseen and matured plan is indicated by the two major changes that took place in the original objectives and dispositions for the St. Mihiel campaign, involving vital shifts of army artillery. At first our furthest line was to touch or to include Metz. The final decision was that we were merely to set free the railways and canals for use as rocade lines. These changes now seem to have been made to conform to the subsequent operation, the object of which was a grasp on the traffic throat of the Germans. Had it been in mind from the beginning, they would not have been necessary.

#### LUDENDORFF'S BRILLIANT WAR RECORD

Let us turn to General Ludendorff. If we judge solely by the brilliancy of the operations in which he participated, there is no question that he outshone Marshal Foch. In the Hindenburg-Ludendorff partnership we do not know positively whether or not the master mind was Ludendorff; but any one who studies the various campaigns must gain a fixed impression that General Ludendorff was no figure-head.

In the operations on the eastern front it must be borne in mind that the Central Powers did not have that unity of command which writers have stated was responsible for their success. There was no more unity of command than there was on the allied (western) front, but Ludendorff's dominating personality enabled

him to impose his will upon the Austro-Hungarian Army and the armies of the other allies.

Tannenberg was unquestionably Ludendorff's own work, and will stand as a classic equal to Cannae or Sedan. The great German drive in the Spring and Summer of 1915 will also be for future generations a perfect illustration of strategic penetration on a grand scale. These two campaigns Ludendorff conceived and conducted. They ended in decisive victories. At Tannenberg, Samsonov's Army of the Nareva was destroyed. Subsequently the Army of the Niemen was driven from East Prussia, and then the Mackensen advance on the Donajec practically forced the Russians out of all occupied territory. The elimination of the armies of Rumania provides another example of proper strategic conception in connection with a mountain range and of the attack on flank and rear. The success of the Austro-German operation that culminated with the Italians back on the Piave marked yet another brilliant piece of strategy.

With these four phases of the World War Ludendorff is intimately connected. No other military commander has such a record.

With the withdrawal to the Hindenberg line in 1916 and with the fiasco at Verdun, Ludendorff had no appreciable concern, nor can he be charged with any responsibility for the strategy of the Central Powers after the first Marne battle until after Hindenburg became Chief of Staff.

He was, however, responsible for the famous offensive of March 21. That this drive failed to accomplish its entire object cannot be charged to the inferiority of its conception. Ludendorff struck exactly

where Napoleon would have struck, at the junction point between two allied armies.

The final Aisne-Marne offensive was the last desperate attempt that Germany made to conclude the war victoriously. These two campaigns, viewed in the retrospect, would better not have taken place, for all they did was to weaken Germany, to use up reserves that she could not spare, to force her to drop back on the defensive and to surrender the initiative to Foch.

They were the product of the initiative, decision and determination of Ludendorff. His was no unified command. Austro-Hungarians, Turks and Bulgarians were bound to Germany by no tie except that of self-interest. Only success would hold them true, and positive success was necessary. His would have been no Frederician defensive, backed by a solid nation with almost tribal sentiment. Instead of support he could look only to the early falling away of each party—each on the best terms available from the enemy. His cause was certain to meet defeat. Notwithstanding all this, his operations were strategically well directed. He gambled as all great military leaders must. If he is to be condemned it is because he did not consider or, considering, did not estimate truly the numbers and efficiency of the United States troops, whose strength was swiftly growing.

Let us end by admitting that both Marshal Foch and General Ludendorff are great soldiers and by leaving to calmer minds at a time when facts are better established the analysis of their attributes and accomplishments. Which is the greater matters little if the student can determine the qualities of each worthy of emulation, the weaknesses of either which should be avoided.

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# PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT UNDER CIVIL SERVICE

By WAYNE B. WHEELER

General Counsel and Legislative Superintendent Anti-Saloon  
League of America

*Anti-Saloon League favors merit system of  
appointing prohibition agents—Present enforce-  
ment legislation necessarily a compromise*

THE successful course followed by the Anti-Saloon League in furthering the development of prohibition legislation is based on its policy of no compromise on principle, but adjustment of methods to conditions in writing that principle into law. Any methods which are legal and honorable have been used. Wherever it was impossible to gain a 100 per cent. victory, such gains as were possible were made and preparations begun for another advance. This sane and practical program did not win the approval of extremists, who sometimes characterized this course as compromise with evil. They failed to note that the power to win complete victory was often lacking. Others concerned with some incidental phase of prohibition, such as the classification of enforcement officials under civil service, have believed that prohibition itself should have been sacrificed if these other aims were not equally promoted.

The ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, the passage of the Volstead act and the Supplementary Prohibition act have come in natural sequence from the first local option fights. Throughout the half-century of war on the organized liquor traffic two factors have determined the progress made: the sentiment of the people and the responsiveness of legislators to popular sentiment. By doing the practical thing, even when that meant limiting activities to expelling saloons from one ward of a city, the temperance forces educated the voters in the fundamentals of liquor control. This course, though slow, was the wisest, since it brought in its train

the fewest revulsions of opinion. Aroused public sentiment was behind legislation. By accepting small gains in local territory as the preface to the larger field of effort, the prohibition forces presented to the people of States, counties and cities object-lessons in the advantages of a community that had no saloons.

The Anti-Saloon League of America has never attempted steam-roller tactics. Dictation of legislation has not been sought or desired. Both friends and foes have criticized the movement because it has not "compelled" some legislative body to act either more rapidly or more drastically. No organization has any right to arrogate to itself such authority. To attempt a course of dictation to a Legislature or to Congress would be the shortest road to defeat for any association of citizens, however lofty their purposes. To suggest, inform or request is permissible. To command or threaten would be unwise. The people at the ballot-box have returned to private life many of their representatives who have failed to hear the suggestions of the majority. That ever-present menace is the legitimate weapon of the popular will.

When the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, as the culmination of this course of practical politics—accepting what the people were prepared to support at the ballot-box—the enforcement of this new Constitutional provision was the next step. There were not wanting counsels of the extremists. Suggestions of revolutionary nature were offered by well-meaning people. Many of these were good, some dangerous,

while not a few were unconstitutional. Out of the mass of such suggestions, the Volstead act was ultimately evolved. It was not considered perfect. The point is that the law as adopted was the result of adjustment between the various factors then represented in Congress. These men alone bore the responsibility of adopting a law to enforce the amendment. Dictation by any outside organization would have meant a super-government. No practical prohibition organization has ever aspired to that position.

Among the many suggestions made when the enforcement act was being considered were some for the inclusion of the staff of the new bureau in the civil service classification. This was favored by a large number of prohibition advocates. Some, however, opposed it on the ground that it was necessary to organize the new offices promptly. Others felt that courage, sympathy with the law, integrity and initiative, necessary qualifications for enforcement agents, might not be revealed by a civil service examination. Opposition came most strongly from politicians who desired patronage, those who had experience with poor civil service laws in the States, those who honestly believed that it would be too difficult to remove inefficient agents and that the examination would bar efficient men with a poor education.

The clerical staff of the new prohibition unit was placed under the civil service act by the Volstead law. Other officers and employees were specifically exempted by the act itself. The Anti-Saloon League has been attacked because it "accepted" the measure in this form without strong protest. Some of the professed leaders of the civil service reform movement, such as William Dudley Foulke, were absent from the fight at the time that the Volstead law was passed. They appeared to be more interested in criticizing the Prohibition act and the Anti-Saloon League than in the success of any civil service provisions the law might hold.

The controlling policy of the Anti-Saloon League might be summed up in this phrase: "This one thing we do." Representing millions of people whose opinions agree on the prohibition question but differ widely on every other question, it of-

fers a common meeting place for folk of every class, creed or other group-interest. It can speak with authority concerning the attitude of these people only on the liquor question. It is not a civil service reform movement. It did win an incidental victory for civil service reform, but this was purely incidental to the principal victory—the passage of a prohibition enforcement act. Pursuing its traditional policy and accepting such advances as public sentiment and legislative responsiveness might justify, the Anti-Saloon League, with most of the other temperance and prohibition organizations, lent its influence to the passage of the supplemental Prohibition act, which increased the effectiveness of enforcement. Another bill was presented by Senator Sterling, a strong champion of civil service, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Civil Service Reform, to remove, so far as possible, the appointment of prohibition agents from politics. This proposed law did not go as far as some of the civil service advocates desired. It did, however, move in the right direction. Had it been passed, it would have taken out of the patronage class the appointment of most of the prohibition staff. It would also have established a precedent for the later inclusion of other officials of the unit in the classified service.

The Anti-Saloon League endorsed this measure, not as a perfect one, but as the best that could be obtained at that time. Its adoption would have remedied, at least in part, some of the evils surrounding appointments to this service. I have always favored civil service for prohibition agents, but also have been willing to take the best measures possible when perfection was not obtainable. Some of the leaders of temperance groups with which the Anti-Saloon League affiliates are not favorable to civil service. They insist that the civil service law shall make clear that the agents be in sympathy with the law, and that it shall make definite a speedy method for removal of inefficient agents or they will oppose it. The civil service leaders insist on no such restrictions in the law, leaving these questions to the discretion of the Civil Service Commission. I believe that no good reason can be given why some of

these provisions, admittedly good, should not be put in the law, but whether in the law or not, civil service would give us a better class of enforcement agents and this is the chief reason I favor it.

#### POLITICAL APPOINTMENT FAULTY

I believe in civil service for prohibition agents—any reports to the contrary notwithstanding—because it will take the appointment of prohibition agents out of politics, so far as it can be done. Under the present system, prohibition agents are chosen, in many places, because of their political qualifications rather than their fitness for the position. When local party leaders insist upon the appointment of an agent, he is practically always appointed, regardless of his lack of qualifications. When the Senators of the dominant party and the national party committeemen are friendly we secure, as a rule, good agents. Politics, however, often enters into the equation in a way that obstructs best results. When bad agents are in the service and protests are filed against them, although the department is convinced of their unfitness, political leaders have on many occasions required the department to keep them in the service.

Many agents, knowing the effect of political influence, hesitate to enforce the law aggressively and impartially. They know that if they reach certain violators with large political influence it may work against them. Civil service gives them the largest amount of personal security in the performance of their duty. Efficiency in the law enforcement will be further promoted by the establishment of a corps of officers whose selection, in the first instance, is based upon fitness established by examination rather than upon political favor. The introduction of the merit system, whereby men whose records

show them to be proficient are promoted, while those who are incompetent or unsatisfactory may be eliminated, will provide a personnel composed of men of experience, thus reversing the present system of creating an entirely new personnel with every change in the Administration. We recently appealed to the President to put the prohibition agents under civil service by executive order or to ask Congress to do so and the President has asked Congress to put these positions under civil service without protecting the present force. On the whole, it will be an advantage to make all of these agents qualify under civil service.

Doubtless the same controversy will arise concerning the new civil service measure that has arisen concerning the others, viz., the question of exemption. If the civil service reform leaders insist that every one, from the National Prohibition Commissioner down, shall be included under the law, it may result in no law being enacted, just as was the result in former contests. But if those who are in favor of the civil service idea will work together for the best law possible, the cause of civil service selection of prohibition agents will be advanced as well as the enforcement of the Prohibition law.

It will take the united efforts of the friends of this measure to win. Using civil service as a screen for propaganda against prohibition will not aid. Neither will anything be gained by insistence that no law be passed unless it measures up to the 100 per cent. standard of any particular organization. The continued wholesale denunciation of prohibition agents and the characterization of prohibition as a failure by the head of the Civil Service Reform League will do as much to defeat this needed legislation as anything that the opponents of civil service can do.

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# THE RUHR AFTER A YEAR OF OCCUPATION

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

Former Professor of History, Brown University, and former Associate Editor of The New York Nation

ON the surface the period under review has been less fruitful of striking incident than almost any month since the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr began more than a year ago. The creation by the Reparation Commission of two committees, one to inquire into means of balancing the German budget, the other to devise ways of getting control of German capital abroad, inaugurated a new phase of the reparations problem. Violent outbreaks in the Ruhr were less frequent or important as work in the factories and mines was increasingly resumed. While the situation in regard to food and currency continued to be acute, the lifting of certain restrictions upon the movement of persons and commodities made some of the conditions of the occupation appreciably less severe. The uncertain parliamentary outlook in Great Britain, joined to aggressive attacks upon Premier Poincaré's policy in the French Chamber of Deputies and the approaching elections in France were further factors in tempering the general treatment of Germany in regard to reparations.

A formal invitation was extended by the Reparation Commission on Dec. 21 to Charles G. Dawes and Owen D. Young to serve as members of the committee to inquire into the German budget, Mr. Dawes being asked to serve as Chairman. On Dec. 24 a similar invitation was extended to Henry M. Robinson of Los Angeles to serve on the committee on German capital abroad. A semi-official statement given out at Washington on Dec. 14 had already announced that the United States Government could not undertake to aid in the search for German capital in America, constitutional authority for such an inquiry being apparently lacking, and the position then taken was confirmed on Jan. 2 with particular reference to banks.

The selection of Montagu Collet Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, and Sir Josiah Charles Stamp, Secretary of Nobel Industries, Ltd., as the British members of the Committee on the German Budget, and of Reginald McKenna, former Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a member of the Committee on German Capital, was announced on Dec. 20. Objection by M. Poincaré to Mr. Norman led to his declining to serve, and Sir Robert Kindersley was designated in his place. The membership of the committees was completed on Dec. 26, the Italian members being Dr. Albert Pinelli, Professor Frederico Flora and Dr. Mario Alberts, and the Belgian members Messrs. Francqui, Houtard and Janssens. The first meeting of the Committee on

the German Budget was held on Jan. 14, when a striking speech was made by the Chairman, Charles G. Dawes. Lacking in emphasis on the justice of French claims to reparations, the speech stressed the danger to Europe of a German débâcle and declared that the first thing was to cure sick Germany. After referring to the complicated barriers "erected by national pride and the selfish interest of different allied officials," he described the nationalist demagogues of all countries as "foul and carrion-loving vultures who would exploit their pitiful personalities out of the common misfortune." To help Germany to get well was, in Mr. Dawes's opinion, the first requisite. "As the economic processes of Germany under a stable currency and with a balanced budget are revived," he added, "there will be demonstrated the capacity of Germany to pay."

## GERMAN REQUEST FOR FOOD LOAN

Dr. Fischer, President of the German War Bureaus Committee, on Dec. 16 formally requested the Reparation Commission to give priority in principle, as against reparations payments, to a three-year loan of \$70,000,000 for the purchase of wheat and fats. The request was referred in part to the allied Governments and in part to a Committee on Guarantees.

Political opposition to the Poincaré Government became more intense as the Senatorial elections approached. In the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 14 Léon Blum, Socialist, arraigned the Government policy, declaring that it had not only estranged the friends of France abroad and endangered the security of the country, but had also failed to secure reparations or the prospect of any. The Ruhr operations, he affirmed, had cost 700,000,000 francs against 525,000,000 francs of receipts, and the latter sum went to the Reparation Commission instead of being used to pay the cost of the army of occupation. The receipts from the coal tax, if collected, would amount after all deductions were made to only 400,000,000 francs a year, while the expenses in the Ruhr reached 100,000,000 francs a month. On the same day the Marquis de Lubersac, President of the National Federation of Co-operative Societies of Reconstruction, charged in the *Paris Matin* that, although the German forests in French control were capable of producing 1,200,000 cubic meters of timber, "not a single plank of this wood has to my knowledge reached the people of the devastated districts," all of the seized German timber having been sold to French lumber merchants. Lumber which at the begin-

ning of the occupation cost 215 francs per cubic meter, he declared, now cost 280 francs. M. Poincaré in reply defended his action in supporting an inquiry now, after previously opposing it, on the ground that the inquiry now proposed was to be conducted through the Reparation Commission, which had power to act in the matter.

#### COAL DELIVERIES

A week later, on Dec. 21, in a three-hour speech in the Chamber, M. Poincaré adduced figures purporting to show that more than 5,000,000 tons of coal and coke had been obtained from the Ruhr since Jan. 11, 1923, and that with 27 per cent. of the entire Ruhr output assured for 1924, the receipts this year would reach more than 26,000,000 tons. On Dec. 28 the Government was again attacked by Deputy Paul Reynaud, a member of the Clemencist group in the Chamber, and the Premier felt compelled to adjourn the session.

The favorable reception given on Dec. 15 to a request, made through the German Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, for a discussion with the Berlin Government of the Ruhr situation was followed on Dec. 24 by the submission of certain definite proposals for a *modus vivendi*. The Paris correspondent of *The New York Times* reported that among the subjects on which Dr. von Hoesch requested "conversations" were commercial exchanges between occupied and unoccupied Germany, monetary questions, in particular the Rhenish-Westphalian Bank project, navigation of the Rhine, transport on the Rhineland railways and other questions of general administration, and the application of German national and local laws under the French occupation. A similar application was also made to the Belgian Government. On Jan. 8 it was reported that the Belgian reply had been received in Paris and that the answer of the two Governments would soon be transmitted. The Berlin Government announced on Dec. 29 its intention to resume payment of the costs of the allied occupation, suspended when the Ruhr was occupied.

The Cologne correspondent of *The London Times* summarized on Dec. 17 the industrial situation in the Ruhr substantially as follows: In the mining section north of the Rhine-Herne Canal the Prussian State mines were working with their full complement of men, but only three or four shifts weekly. The private mines were working four shifts a week, with about two-thirds of their usual number of men employed. South of the canal, where the larger mines and steel works are located, the number of employes varied from 30 to 90 per cent. of normal. Most of the mines hoped to be working with their full complements by the beginning of 1924 if railway transportation, which was very deficient,

could move the coal. The position of the steel works was "very much worse" than that of the mines because of the coke shortage. Some of the steel works were reported later in the month to be in financial difficulties on account of their heavy outlays in resuming work and the difficulty of obtaining money for wages, fuel and raw materials; and the Ruhr steel syndicate had been dissolved. By the end of the month the Metal Workers' Union had renewed its fight for the eight-hour day, and early in January a number of lockouts from this cause were declared. A renewal of rioting by the unemployed at Gelsenkirchen, Bochum, Crefeld, Duisberg and other places was reported on Jan. 9. On Jan. 6 the Ruhr coal syndicate was reconstituted as the Consolidated Association for the Sale and Distribution of Ruhr Coal.

#### FRANCO-GERMAN INDUSTRIAL AGREEMENT

Perhaps the most important step in a settlement of the industrial situation was the reported conclusion, at the end of December, of an agreement between Guy de Wendel, representing the great iron interests of Lorraine, and the Ruhr industrialists, Stinnes, Thyssen and others, for the exchange of Lorraine iron against coke. The agreement was apparently the outcome of negotiations begun some two months before by representatives of the French Comité des Forges.

Some amelioration of the conditions of occupation took place during the period under review. A decree of the German Finance Minister issued just before Christmas recognized Belgian and French currency as legal tender in the Ruhr. The plans for "invisible occupation," which were to have been begun on Dec. 10, were delayed, pending a general carrying out of the agreements to resume work, but some of the French troops were withdrawn before the end of the year, and it was expected that by the middle of January the French military headquarters would be removed from Düsseldorf to Mayence, leaving at Düsseldorf only the civilian services. The passport barrier between the Ruhr and unoccupied Germany was lifted on Jan. 5.

Herr Heintz, the President of the "Autonomous Government of the Palatinate," was assassinated at dinner in the principal hotel at Speyer on Jan. 9. The killing, for which the responsibility had not been fixed when this account was printed, led to a demand by Lord Curzon for an independent investigation of the situation in the Palatinate through the British Consul at Munich. It was reported on Jan. 12 that while M. Poincaré would not oppose any objection to a visit of the British Consul in a private capacity, he would insist that any inquiry should be conducted by representatives of all the Allies, the Palatinate being within the French zone of occupation.

## MONTHLY HISTORY OF WORLD EVENTS

*Continued from Page 720*

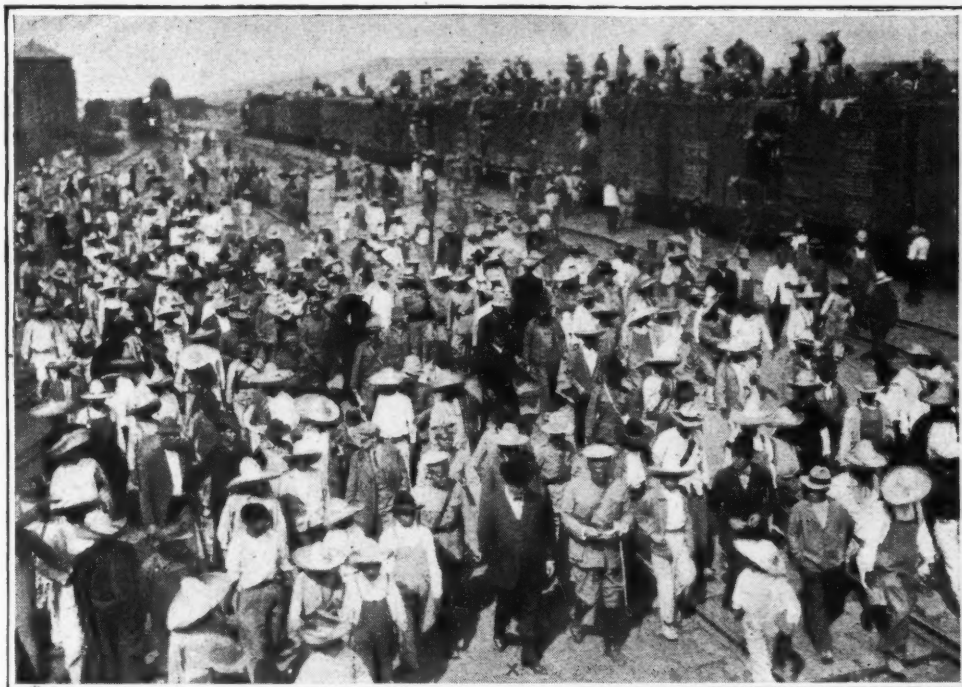
telegraphed the United States Department on Dec. 8 that the movement headed by Adolfo de la Huerta appeared to be "an effective movement at rebellion against Government policy," and the imposition of Plutarco Calles as a candidate for the Presidency. Since then events have abundantly demonstrated that social and economic issues, both national and international, are involved in the struggle. That the rebellion should have broken out at Vera Cruz, long regarded as a bulwark of the Socialist and radical elements who were upheld by, and in turn upheld most loyally, General Calles, is in itself significant. General Sanchez is reported, while serving as Federal commander of the Vera Cruz district, to have become disgusted with the Bolshevik and "near-red" control of affairs at Vera Cruz. Dispatches from Vera Cruz on Dec. 6 stated that discontent with the Socialistic administration of Governor Tejada, one of Calles's most ardent supporters, was increasing. One of the first acts of the rebels after removing Federal office holders at Vera Cruz on Dec. 6 was to restore normal conditions throughout the military zone and with an iron hand to "put a prompt end to the labor disputes between workers and employers which have prevailed for the last two months." Because of labor troubles no freight had moved through the Port of Vera Cruz for some weeks before the outbreak of the rebellion.

Tabasco was among the first States of the republic to join the rebel movement and to take action against socialistic agitators. American Consul Rankin, on Dec. 10, advised the State Department that "the garrison at Frontera revolted at noon Dec. 9 in favor of de la Huerta. The commanding officer was killed and a number of Bolsheviks were executed." Rebel headquarters at Vera Cruz announced on Dec. 12 that Merida and Progreso, the capital and the chief seaport, respectively, of Yucatan, had joined the rebellion. American Consul Marsh, on Dec. 13, advised the State Department that all Yucatan had gone over to de la Huerta.

The Obregon Government, the agrarians, and the labor elements were not long in sensing the social issues involved in the revolution. President Obregon, on Dec. 8, in a manifesto to the nation branded the rebellion "as a conspiracy against the common people on the part of reactionary conservatives." Response on the part of the agrarians and laborers was prompt. At Maltrata 3,000 agrarians were reported on Dec. 9 to have petitioned the Federal Government for arms to fight de la Huerta, and from Mexico

City on Dec. 11 announcement was made that 200,000 agrarians, workingmen and members of social defense societies, had offered their services to the Government; among these were thousands of textile workers from Vera Cruz. A communiqué of the Ministry of Foreign Relations announced on Dec. 1 that the laboring class of Mexico was rallying almost as a unit to the standard of Obregon. According to this communiqué a factor in arousing the loyalty to President Obregon among the working class was the report from Vera Cruz that the President of the labor syndicate had been executed by the rebels. Reports had been spread in Mexico City as early as Dec. 12 that Heron Proal, leader of the anti-rent strikers, had been executed in Vera Cruz. De la Huerta headquarters on Dec. 17 denied that any laborers had been executed in Vera Cruz. After the Federal reoccupation of Puebla (Dec. 22), Celestino Gasca, former Socialist Governor of the Federal District, was sent to garrison Puebla with "recently enlisted workingmen's brigades" in order to relieve regular soldiers for active service. Not all labor unions, however, rallied to the Obregon Government. According to Martin Luis Guzman, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, and a representative of de la Huerta in New York, the railway labor men in Mexico favored de la Huerta, while the laborers in Government factories favored Obregon and Calles.

Secretary of State Hughes announced in Washington on Dec. 29 that upon application of the Obregon Government the United States Government had expressed a willingness to sell to it a limited quantity of war materials. This decision was reached, according to Secretary Hughes, "in view of the relations between this Government and the Mexican Government, which was formally recognized last September, and of the importance of the maintenance of stability and orderly, constitutional procedure in the neighboring republic." The plan for the sale is reported to have been presented to President Coolidge with a favorable recommendation by Secretary Hughes, and later to have been presented to the Cabinet on Dec. 28. It is reported that the decision reached by the Cabinet was that President Coolidge had ample power to sell a limited quantity of surplus war materials, and that it would be right and proper for the United States Government to render material aid to the Obregon Government against the revolutionary movement. The plan was later submitted to the General Staff of the Army by Secretary of War Weeks, who interposed no objection to it. It



President Obregon (X), with members of his staff, arriving at Irapuato soon after the outbreak of the rebellion in Mexico

was reported that the policy involved was disapproved by the General Staff before Secretary Hughes announced the willingness of the United States Government to make the sale.

It has been pointed out by those objecting to the sales that the policy involved therein is directly opposed to that followed since the World War by the United States Government with respect to requests from foreign Governments that it sell to them supplies of arms and ammunition. President Harding, on April 23, 1923, announced a statement of policy for the War and Navy Departments which opposed the sale of any surplus military equipment to any foreign power. It was reported from Washington on Dec. 30 that the State Department had taken the stand that the sale of arms to Mexico would not constitute a reversal of the policy of President Harding, whose refusal to sell arms to certain European Governments had been based upon the fear that this might lead to militarism, unrest and war. A request by the Obregon Government that the United States Government sell to it two armored cruisers was rejected on the ground that such a sale would be in violation of the decisions arrived at by the Washington Conference for Limitation of Armament.

Secretary of War Weeks, on Jan. 4, announced the sale by the United States Government to the

Obregon Government of 5,000 Enfield rifles, 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition and 8 De Havilland-4 surplus airplanes on a payment basis of 50 per cent. cash and the balance in thirty days. Unofficial estimates placed the amount of money involved in the transaction at \$400,000.

A formal protest against the proposed sale of war material to the Obregon Government was filed with the United States Department of State on Dec. 31 by Enrique Seldner, Consul General of the Provisional Government of Mexico in New York.

Upon the recommendation of Secretary Hughes, President Coolidge on Jan. 7 proclaimed an immediate embargo, with heavy penalties attached for violations thereof, on any shipment of war materials to Mexico except "such exportations of arms or munitions of war as are approved by the Government of the United States for shipment to the Government of Mexico which had been recognized by the Government of the United States, and such arms and munitions for industrial or commercial uses as may from time to time be exported with the consent of the Secretary of State."

Two American ships, the Mexico of the Ward Line and the Norvington of the Aguila Oil Company, were seized by Mexican Federal authorities for disobedience in having stopped at Puerto

Mexico and Progreso after these ports, because of being in rebel hands, had been outlawed by the Federal Government. The Tampico customs office was instructed on Dec. 19 not to clear vessels bound for Puerto Mexico. Other ports previously thus outlawed by the Federal Government at that time were Vera Cruz, Campeche, Manzanillo and Acapulco.

Foreign and other business interests in Mexico City have also been hard hit. The Rebel Provisional Government at Vera Cruz decreed that if import duties on goods in Vera Cruz were not paid to it before Jan. 5 the merchandise would be sold to the highest bidder.

The International Committee of Bankers of Mexico announced on Dec. 7 that of the minimum fund of \$15,000,000 which, according to the Lamont-de la Huerta refunding agreement, was to cover the first year's bond service on all the \$500,000,000 or more bonds included within the agreement, a total in excess of \$13,500,000 had at that time been made available to the committee. The Mexican Embassy in Washington announced on Jan. 2 that the last remittances necessary to complete the \$15,000,000 first interest payment under the Lamont-de la Huerta agreement had been sent to New York on Dec. 31.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA

**E**LECTION returns announced by the Ministry of Government and Justice of Honduras show that in the Presidential elections held in that country on Oct. 28-30, Dr. Juan Angel Arias, one of the Liberal candidates, received a total of 20,839 votes; Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, also a Liberal candidate, received 35,474 votes, and General Tiburcio Carias received 49,953 votes. Of the votes cast, General

Carias failed by 5,361 to receive a plurality. The Constitution provides that under such conditions the election of a President must be made by the National Congress. President Lopez Gutierrez, and Dec. 21, for the fourth time in the last three and a half years, declared martial law. At the same time it was reported that the Government had imprisoned 200 of the most prominent supporters of General Carias, with the intention of keeping them imprisoned until after Congress had passed on the election. The situation in Honduras had developed thus far when on Dec. 24, the United States Department of State made public a note which, at its instance, American Minister Morales in Tegucigalpa had presented last Summer to the Government of President Lopez Gutierrez. According to this note the United States Government, "repeatedly having counseled, but without avail," that the Presidential candidates should reach an agreement that would avert a revolution, "desires once more to emphasize the grave situation in which Honduras will be placed if some satisfactory settlement to this end is not reached." Three days after the above note was made public in Washington, announcement was made therefrom that, as a result of disturbed conditions in Honduras, American Minister Morales had been instructed to notify the President of Honduras and other responsible officials that the United States regards with disfavor any attempt of a Government to perpetuate itself in power except by accepted Constitutional processes. As a precautionary move against possible harm to American life and property in Honduras the U. S. S. Rochester, with Rear Admiral J. H. Dayton and a small complement of marines aboard, arrived on Dec. 29 at the Honduran Pacific port of Amapala.

#### SOUTH AMERICA

By HARRY T. COLLINGS

Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

**A** REVIEW of business conditions in 1923 through South America shows general improvement as compared with 1922. A marked improvement in economic conditions is apparent in Argentina and Chile, with some betterment in Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Colombia. Less optimistic reports come from Brazil, Peru, Ecuador and Venezuela. Unfavorable exchange, diminished exports and difficulties in Government finances constitute some of the hindrances to prosperity.

Announcement was made on Dec. 18 that a \$50,000,000 corporation to be known as the American Foreign Power Company, Inc., had been organized to develop power chiefly in South America and in other parts of Latin America.

The President of the new company, S. Z. Mitchell, is also President of the Electric Bond and Share Company, a subsidiary of the General Electric Company. Two new lines of steamships have been established to connect Spain with South America, one trading with ports on the west coast and the other with Rio de la Plata ports, touching on the return journey at British, French and German seaports. For this service, it has been stated, the Spanish dictator, General Primo de Rivera, intends to purchase or lease a number of vessels from the United States Shipping Board.

More than 6,000 species of rare plants, some of which are undoubtedly new to botanists, have recently been brought to the United States from South America by Professor G. S. Bryan of the

Botany Department of the University of Wisconsin and Francis MacBride, of the Field Museum of Chicago, on their return from an expedition made under the auspices of the museum. Ten months were spent collecting specimens, chiefly on the west coast. Professor A. S. Hitchcock is now in Ecuador collecting specimens for the New York Botanical Garden, the United States National Museum and the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University. Dr. Oliver C. Farrington, Curator of the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, returned on Dec. 23 from a seven-month trip in the interior of Brazil. He announced the discovery there of an almost complete skeleton of a megatherium. This huge sloth, ten feet in height, has been extinct for thousands of years.

#### ARGENTINA

ARGENTINA officially notified the League of Nations on Jan. 5 that she would send an observer or "auditor" to the forthcoming Naval Conference, at which it is planned to extend the principles adopted at the Washington Conference to those powers which did not sign the agreement made at Washington. Argentina has not been represented at a meeting of the League since Señor Honorio Pueyrredon left the first Assembly on its refusal to ratify the amendments to the League Covenant proposed by the Argentine delegation.

A bill sanctioned by the Argentine Congress makes it obligatory to indicate the origin of goods sold in Argentina by affixing to them a label printed in Spanish. This is intended to promote the prestige of Argentine manufactures, and prevent the practice of disguising local goods by means of foreign labels.

Transportation in Argentina has been impeded by the lack of native coal and the high cost of imported fuel. During 1923 all the State-owned lines in the southern part of the country have used oil in their locomotives. The three British lines (Western, Southern and Pacific) have now approximately 50 per cent. of the engines using oil, and are converting the remainder of their locomotives into oil burners. An encouraging item regarding railroad transportation in Argentina has recently appeared. Reports for the British-owned lines for the financial year ended June 30, 1923, show successful results, with dividends on common stock for most of these roads amounting to 7 per cent. On the principal roads gross receipts were from 8 to 17 per cent. higher than for the previous year.

The first flight across the Andes in an airplane carrying a passenger was accomplished on Dec. 31 by J. P. Hansen, a Danish aviator, residing in Argentina. He made the trip in nine hours in an American plane. The railroad journey requires almost two days.

#### BRAZIL

THE disturbed political conditions which have existed in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in Southern Brazil during the past year are now satisfactorily ended. Through the efforts of General Setembrino Carvalho, Minister of War in the Federal Cabinet, the opposing groups signed a formal peace agreement on Dec. 15. The trouble originated at the State Presidential election, when Senhor Borges de Maceiros, who had been President of the State of Rio Grande do Sul for some twenty-five years, was declared re-elected. Disaffected groups took up arms in support of the opposing candidate, Senhor Assis Brasil. The basis of the present agreement is the adoption of a new State Constitution which provides that the President cannot hold office for two successive terms. Senhor Borges de Maceiros is to retain office during the present Administration.

Dr. Thomas T. Read, Supervising Mining Engineer of the United States Bureau of Mines, has been awarded a gold medal and a diploma by the Brazilian Government. Dr. Read was the representative of the Department of the Interior with the United States Commission at the celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Independence of Brazil held at Rio de Janeiro last year.

Brazil, in common with several other republics in South America, desires immigrants. The year of 1923 has shown no increase in the number of foreigners entering the republic. Backed by a substantial appropriation, the Federal Minister of Agriculture has informed the various State Governments that the Federal Government will undertake to transport immigrant families from Europe if the State Governments will help pay the traveling expenses. Six States of the republic have concluded agreements with the Federal Government looking to such co-operation.

#### CHILE

POLITICAL skies in Chile have been darkened for months past by the deadlock existing between President Alessandri and the Senate. Conditions became critical during December, through the resignation of the Cabinet, which was forced by the Senate. The present situation is in many respects similar to the contest which President Balmaceda carried on with his Congress, and out of which came the civil war of 1891.

The present disagreement has arisen because of differences of opinion between the Chief Executive and the Upper House of the Legislature regarding legislative programs. In consequence, for months past legislation has been at a standstill in Chile, which has reflected unfavorably on the economic development of the country. Business interests, and especially Senator Tocor-

nal—backed by the *Mercurio* and the *Nacion*, two of the most influential newspapers of the republic—have attempted to reconcile the conflicting parties, but without success.

A new Cabinet took office on Jan. 3. Pedro Aguirre Cerda, former financial counselor to the Chilean Embassy in the United States, has succeeded in forming a Cabinet with himself as Minister of the Interior as well as Premier. The other Ministers in the new Cabinet are:

ARMANDO JARAMILLO—Foreign Affairs.  
VICENTE ADRIAN—Industry; Public Works.  
COLONEL EWING—War.  
DOMINGO DURAN—Justice.  
ENRIQUE Z. PRIETO—Finance.

The political aspect of the new Cabinet gives promise of the continuance of the strife between the President and the Senate. Conferences, however, have been held by two Ministers of the new Cabinet with representatives of the Unionist majority which has been opposing Presidential legislation in the upper house, with a view to having the Senate, at least, consider the legislative proposals of President Alessandri. When the Senate refused to consider these proposals, the Executive and the new Cabinet declared the extraordinary session of Congress closed on Jan. 7.

President Alessandri has put into effect the Income Tax law recently passed by the Chilean Congress. This is the first time Chile has had an income tax. The present law provides for a tax of 9 per cent. on total incomes from real estate,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on incomes from securities,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on profits from industry and commerce, except mining enterprises, and 2 per cent. on private and public salaries exceeding 2,400 pesos per year (the gold peso equals \$0.365; the paper peso was quoted on Jan. 7 at \$0.1075). The law became effective on Jan. 2.

The Chilean Minister in London has procured a British loan of £500,000 for the completion of a breakwater and other port facilities in Antofagasta, Chile. The first quota of this loan, amounting to £100,000, was made immediately available. The Government of the republic is planning to make Antofagasta one of the best ports on the western coast of South America.

The Senate has recently passed a bill modifying the present sanitary law, and providing for the installation of water and drainage systems in all towns and cities of the republic with a population over 8,000. This bill is now before the Chamber of Deputies. Payment for the new sanitary system is to be effected through the emission of bonds.

## ECUADOR

THE Government of Ecuador on Dec. 16 received a report that the town of Tulcan had been destroyed by an earthquake. Detachments of soldiers and a Red Cross unit were sent from Quito to the afflicted zone. Tulcan, the capital of Carchi Province, is situated in the northernmost section of the country near the Colombian frontier and has a population of 5,000. Five distinct shocks were felt there on Dec. 15. At the first warning residents fled from the town, which accounts for the few fatalities—some twenty-five or thirty. Towns across the border in Colombia also suffered from the same shocks. Cumbal and Chile in Southern Colombia reported a death list of eighty-five. The destruction in the Colombian towns caused a greater loss of life because no preliminary shocks warned the inhabitants.

## PERU

D. R. GERMAN LEGUIA MARTINEZ, arrested for alleged complicity in a plot to overthrow the existing Government in Peru, has been condemned by the Superior Court of Justice to expulsion from the republic. Press reports state that he is coming to the United States.

## URUGUAY

THE National Administration Council has commissioned the Bureau of Agriculture to proceed, in co-operation with the Bureau of Labor, to take the annual industrial census of the entire republic for 1923. This census was to have been taken during January, 1924.

## VENEZUELA

A NEW oil well, reported by the press to produce 20,000 barrels per day, has recently begun to flow in the Department of Zulia, near Maracaibo.

The National Budget law of Venezuela, effective for the fiscal year July 1, 1923, to June 30, 1924, shows expenditure of 62,845,000 bolívares (a bolívar equals 19.3 cents at par). The principal items of expense are those connected with the Departments of the Treasury, War and Navy and Internal Relations. The estimated revenues for this fiscal period are placed at the figure given for the total expenditures.

The Government of Venezuela has recently approved the building of a concrete road from the port of La Guayra to the capital, twenty-two miles distant. Construction is to be carried on by the Department of Public Works.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By ARTHUR LYON CROSS

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### GREAT BRITAIN

THE interval between the general election on Dec. 6 and the opening of the new Parliament on Jan. 8 afforded time for an analysis of the votes cast and for a review of the campaign. In spite of certain rowdy incidents, The London Times asserted that it was "one of the most orderly elections in recent times," though Winston Churchill, who was roughly handled at Walthamstow, declared he had never experienced such an exhibition in twenty years of electioneering. It is estimated that the Conservative Party's headquarters distributed 100 tons of literature as against 35 in 1922. One poster read: "Macdonald for Moscow, Lloyd George for Limehouse, Baldwin for Britain. Keep the home fires burning." At the eleventh hour Mr. Baldwin added a declaration that if elected he would work for the settlement of European problems "in friendly co-operation with France, Italy and Belgium," and, as he hoped, "with the sympathy of the United States."

The new House of Commons was completed on Dec. 21, when the result was declared of the West Derbyshire contest, postponed in consequence of the death of one of the candidates. The status of the parties finally stood as follows:

Conservatives .....	259
Labor .....	191
Liberals .....	155
Nationalists .....	2
Sinn Fein .....	1
Others .....	7
Total .....	615

In this total, G. Davies, the member for the University of Wales, who stood as an independent Christian pacifist, is classified among the "others" and not as a Labor member. The Conservatives, though easily the largest single party in the House of Commons, were thus in a minority, against the combined strength of all other parties, of 97. At the dissolution they had a clear majority of 77. The status of parties after the 1922 election, at the dissolution and after the 1923 election is shown in the following table:

	After 1922 Election	At Dis- solution	After 1923 Election
Conservatives ...	347	346	259
Labor .....	142	144	191
Ind. Liberals....	64	67	155
Nat. Liberals....	53	50	
Other parties....	9	8	10

The rise of the Labor Party since 1906 is shown in the following figures: 1906, 54; January, 1910, 40; December, 1910, 42; 1918, 73; 1922, 142; 1923, 191.

According to the figures analyzed by J. L. Garvin in *The Observer*, the distribution of votes was not so very different from that in 1922:

	Total vote.	Conser- vatives.	Labor.	Ind. and Nat. Lib.
1922...	14,040,000	5,300,000	4,102,000	4,106,000
1923...	14,186,000	5,360,000	4,338,000	4,217,000

As to personal features, seven Ministers were defeated, including two members of the Cabinet—the Minister of Labor and the Minister of Agriculture. Also several prominent members of the Opposition failed to secure election, including Winston Churchill, Sir Alfred Mond, who brought about the reconciliation between Asquith and Lloyd George; Sir Hamar Greenwood, sometime Secretary for Ireland, and Arthur Henderson, one of the leading Laborites. Three-fourths of the Liberals returned were of the Independent or Asquith wing, while the National group, led by Lloyd George, secured only sixteen or seventeen seats. Walton Newbould, the Communist, and S. Saklatvala, the Hindu Laborite, were also among those not re-elected. All three of the women members of the last Parliament were returned, with five more to keep them company, including two peeresses, the Duchess of Athol and Lady Terrington. One of the best known among the new arrivals is Miss Margaret Bondfield, Chairman of the Trade Union Congress.

Since the beginning of Cabinet Government the British system has almost invariably rested on a two-party basis, though there have been occasional additional groups, such as the Peelites and the Irish Nationalists. The stalemate resulting from the election, with three strong parties contending for mastery, presented disconcerting problems. There was no enthusiasm, except among a few, for a coalition. The Conservatives shuddered at the memory of their post-war thralldom under Lloyd George. Though the Liberals and the Laborites were united against protection, the latter's capital levy and nationalization schemes were too extreme for the Liberals to accept.

Prime Minister Baldwin's first impulse was to resign, but after a conference with the King on Dec. 10, and with his Cabinet on the following day, he decided to meet Parliament. Among the reasons which apparently decided him were the fact that he represented the strongest party; that his withdrawal would open the door for intrigues and factions; that by remaining he would keep

Labor out for the time at least, and that the critical foreign situation and the unemployment menace required immediate and constant attention. Moreover, it was stated that the Liberal leaders had been sounded and had given assurances that there would be no opposition so long as controversial questions were avoided. Although the Prime Minister made a political blunder, he showed sincerity and courage in appealing to the people and thus respecting the pledge given by his late chief, Bonar Law. Moreover, the issue was thoroughly aired. On the other hand, Lloyd George has expressed the opinion that the Prime Minister jumped over the rails in a sudden panic; that he could have accomplished his purpose by extending the Safeguarding of Industries act without violating any pledge.

By the time Parliament assembled on Jan. 8 it was taken for granted in all quarters that the Baldwin Government would be defeated on a vote of censure and that the King would call upon Ramsay Macdonald to form a Ministry. As the Labor Party had decided to accept office if given the opportunity, Mr. Macdonald was soon prepared with a list of those who were to be invited to join his Ministry. Conservatives like Lord Inchcape—no friend of the extreme policies of the trade unionists—were willing to give a Labor Government a chance on the ground that responsibility would have a sobering effect. As indicative of this, it was pointed out that the Labor leader was one of the signers of the Frankfort Socialist program renouncing interallied debts and was later accused by the *Paris Matin* of declaring that he would claim payment. Mr. Macdonald stated in reply that he had been misquoted, but that he did say that, if there was no general settlement, Great Britain could not go on paying the Americans and allow France, in a much better industrial condition, to disregard her obligations to the United States. "We never have agreed," Mr. Macdonald said, "and we never will agree to anything that victimizes Great Britain in the interests of any other State."

One factor that may have influenced the vote against protection was that there were certain indications of improving trade. Steel and iron production showed signs of revival; there were evidences of expansion in the building trades, and the shipyards were manifesting a degree of increased activity since the settlement of the boiler-makers' strike. The export of cotton goods displayed marked improvement, though British wool manufacturers were still unable to meet the competition of foreign producers. Increased export of coal was not an unmixed blessing, for it raised the price and thus hampered the steel manufacturers who were possibly having to face dangerous rivalry from combinations of French and Ruhr coal. Automobile licenses numbered 979,000, an increase of 100,000 during the year, which

looked rather unimpressive in comparison with the American figures of 15,281,918 and 2,916,918 respectively. The Government had paid £104,000,000 in doles and there were on the eve of Christmas 1,137,000 unemployed, but that was 348,778 less than a year before and upward of a million less than in June, 1921, when unemployment was at its peak. There were recently a few "Treasury windfalls" in the shape of death duties from three estates of £2,250,000, £3,145,751 and £915,011, netting respectively £915,000, £1,354,000 and £265,000.

Industrial discontent was still rife. The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers refused to accept the award of the National Wages Board; the dockers demanded an increase and the miners were reported to be unfavorable to a new agreement when the present schedule expired. Frank Hodges, the miners' Secretary, elected to Parliament in December, took the rather conservative ground that in order to gain better terms they would have to show two things—whether they were earning a living wage and how their demands might affect other industries.

Owing to the verdict against protection, agriculture has been deprived of the prospect of receiving the subsidy of £1 an acre promised by Mr. Baldwin. As compared with the 20 per cent. in Belgium, 30 per cent. in Germany and 40 per cent. in France, there are only 10 per cent. of the population in England engaged in agricultural pursuits. On the eve of the war less than one-fifth of the wheat consumed was home grown. Lord Bledisloe, speaking a short time ago at a meeting of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture, stated that "agriculture had too long been the shuttlecock of politics." As a result of his plea a resolution was framed to the effect that the leaders of the three political parties be approached for the purpose of obtaining a conference "to consider the needs of agriculture and to discover a common policy that would benefit the industry." Twenty thousand people in the Western Isles, off the coast of Scotland, were threatened with starvation owing to the failure of the harvest, particularly potato rot due to excessive rain. At the same time, in various parts of England, the foot and mouth disease continued its ravages. Twenty-four counties were affected and 89,000 domestic animals were slaughtered up to Dec. 8, at a loss of over \$5,000,000.

Much interest was aroused late in November by a pageant held in Westminster Abbey by the Most Noble Order of Crusaders, who adopted as their Grand Master the Unknown Warrior. The order was founded about two years ago, but this was its most impressive public appearance, sanctioned by the presence of the Duke of York, second son of the King. Its members wear striking medieval costumes and have an elaborate

ritual and vows shrouded in some mystery. However, their oath is known to include an obligation to uphold the King and the Constitution, and those who take it are pledged to service, self-sacrifice and loyalty. The order is said to be waging an effective campaign by peaceful methods against gambling and other social evils. All connection with the Fascisti or the Ku Klux Klan is repudiated.

Frank B. Kellogg was confirmed by the United States Senate as Ambassador to Great Britain. About the same time Sir Auckland Geddes, who has been suffering from impaired eyesight, was succeeded as British Ambassador to the United States by Sir Esme William Howard, of a younger branch of the old Roman Catholic family headed by the Duke of Norfolk. He has served acceptably in Sweden and Spain. Both the Liberal and Labor papers criticized the "indecent hurry" of his appointment.

#### IRELAND

**T**OWARD the end of November the Irish Deportation Compensation Committee, sitting under the Presidency of Lord Justice Atkins, made awards to forty-four persons who had been deported from England to the Irish Free State and subsequently returned. The awards, averaging from £300 to £500 apiece, totaled £20,000. Some cases of those still serving prison sentences were reserved.

Defense Minister Mulcahy, replying in the Dail on Dec. 11 to the Labor benches, refused to release all untried Republican prisoners or to allow men at large to return to their homes. Moreover, the Dail carried by a vote of 53 to 13 the second reading of a Public Safety bill extending the power of the Ministry to arrest and detain without trial persons suspected of various specified offenses. These drastic measures were defended on the ground that they were necessary for the protection of 90 per cent. of the population, that juries refused to do their duty and that witnesses declined to appear. Nevertheless, Home Minister O'Higgins later declared that the Government's aim was to release the prisoners as rapidly as possible, though it would not tolerate two armies and two policies in the State.

Four hundred prisoners were released from a detention camp at Newbridge on Dec. 22 and an even larger number at Curragh. Among those released were Mr. O'Kelly, brother-in-law of Mr. Mulcahy, Richard Barton and the Countess Markievicz. Eamon de Valera was reported to be in solitary confinement reading Einstein. Although no official response was made to Cardinal Logue's letter, it was supposed to have exercised an influence. Altogether, up to Christmas 3,481 prisoners had been released, while 1,866 were still held, including five members of the Dail.

It was decided to reorganize the Irish Army on the French model. Owing to the limit of £4,000,000 conceded by the Minister of Finance, the force was cut to 20,000, less than two-thirds the number allowed by the treaty; but, with a permanent staff and a training college, provision was made in case of necessity for speedily extending it to nearly twice its present size.

The bill of the Free State Labor Party for nationalization of the railroads was defeated in the Dail on Dec. 14 by 56 votes to 16. President Cosgrave announced that a settlement of the boundary dispute with Ulster and an agreement with the Northern railroads were a necessary condition for such a scheme.

From April 1 to Dec. 8 the Irish revenue was £20,731,240 as compared with £16,795,874 in the previous year, an increase of nearly 25 per cent.

#### CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

**S**IR LOMER GOVIN, Minister of Justice in the Dominion Cabinet, resigned on Jan. 2 on account of ill health. Sir Lomer was appointed to his post in December, 1921.

Grave charges against Sir Richard A. Squires, former Premier of Newfoundland, were published on Dec. 26 by Premier Warren, his successor. The charges as made public by Premier Warren included the alleged receipt of money from two iron and steel corporations while negotiations were in progress regarding the obligations of these companies to the Government and the alleged diversion of State revenues to private individuals. At the request of the Newfoundland Government, the British Colonial Office named T. Hollis Walker to investigate the charges. Mr. Walker was also instructed to investigate the administration of the 1922 and 1923 relief accounts of the Departments of Agriculture, Mines, Public Works and Public Charities, which were controlled by Dr. A. Campbell, who resigned with Sir Richard on July 23. Merton E. Lewis, former Attorney General of New York State, was retained as counsel for Sir Richard Squires.

#### AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

**A**USTRALIAN opinion on the result of the British election was marked by some uneasiness, so far as might affect proposals for imperial tariff preference and the Singapore naval base, though the local Labor leaders were enthusiastic over the prospects of the formation of the first Labor Government in Great Britain, thus bringing the mother country into line with Australia, where, during the last twenty years, the Governments of the Commonwealth and of five of the six States have at different times been carried on by Labor Ministers. Prime Minister Bruce, in a statement to the Australian press, cautiously remarked that, although he had no conference

with the British party leaders, and spoke purely as an observer, he thought that any hasty judgment on the possible result of the election from the imperial standpoint was to be deprecated. In his judgment the growing weight of opinion in Great Britain seemed to be that empire development was the best and safest way to restore the British financial position.

W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, before leaving England on Dec. 17 announced that it would be lamentable if anything were done to cancel the promises made at the conference. At the same time he discounted any wild talk that it would mean "cutting the painter" or even lead to reciprocity with the United States, however much of a handle it might furnish for mischievous agitation.

### SOUTH AFRICA

**B**OTH General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union, and Mr. Burton, the Minister of Finance, have been criticized by the Nationalists for neglecting their duties at home in order to talk futile platitudes at the Imperial Conference. Naturally, with the defeat of protection, they became apprehensive regarding the fate of imperial preference. Mr. Burton, speaking at Cape Town on Nov. 29, expressed the hope that those "moderate proposals will in any case survive the electoral storms now raging in Great Britain." General Smuts stated at Johannesburg, on Dec. 3, that it was unfortunate that the domestic issue was raised during the Imperial Conference. Although, as he was careful to point out, South Africa had no interest in British party conflicts, and though preference was not an issue in the elections, he stated that if the agreements made at the conference were not confirmed, and if the British proved hostile to preferential tariffs, his Government would have to reconsider its position. Several of the newspapers were sharp in their denunciation of Lloyd George and the Liberals, whose attitude, they held, provided capital for the Republicans.

In spite of the fact that General Smuts's South African Party more than held its own in the recent elections, a disquieting situation developed. Colonel Cresswell and Mr. Barlow were very outspoken against the violation, at least in spirit, of the Socialist-Nationalist pact, when certain Nationalists in the Transvaal made speeches advocating republicanism. Mr. Barlow went so far as to serve notice that the pact might not be confirmed if such tactics continued. Thereupon, a meeting of Mr. Barlow's constituents, including both Nationalists and Laborites, was held in Bloemfontein, and he was repudiated. This was a manifest breach of the pact by which the two parties had pledged themselves to support one another's candidates. General Herzog, the Nationalist leader, maintained a discreetly mute attitude, while Colonel Cresswell failed to make any

protest in behalf of his colleague. Moreover, the Labor Party at its annual conference on Jan. 4 confirmed the anti-Smuts pact; apparently because they were more interested in blocking Smuts and the South African Party than in insisting on the terms of their leaders' agreement.

In dismissing an appeal against a sentence for treason on the part of one of the leaders of the Bondelswartz rebellion of 1922, the Supreme Court at Cape Town rendered an important opinion to the effect that, although the Government of German South West Africa was not that of a sovereign independent State, nevertheless the sovereignty of the former German Government must reside in the Union of South Africa as a mandatory power, which was also a sovereign power as a signatory of the Treaty of Versailles and a member of the League of Nations.

### INDIA

**R**ETURNS are nearly complete for the India elections which took place during November and December for the Legislative Assembly and the Councils of the various provinces under British control. The All-India Executive Council still has two years to run. All these bodies consist of members partly elected and partly nominated. Out of 105 elected members of the Legislative Assembly, forty of the eighty-six already returned were of the Swaraj (Home Rule) Party, together with a dozen or so more who might be counted on for support on the main issues. To counterbalance them there were forty Government members and about thirty Independents or Moderates. Furthermore, the Swaraj Party appeared to have gained a complete working majority in the Central Provinces and in Bengal. On the other hand, in Bombay, Punjab and Madras they did not form even the largest single group. In view of the Swaraj successes in Bengal, Lord Lytton, the Governor of the province, offered the Swaraj leader, C. R. Das, the responsibility of administering the transferred departments. Mr. Das refused on the ground that the Swarajists were pledged to put an end to the dyarchy, the twofold system under which certain subjects are reserved for the control of the British executive and certain others transferred to the Assemblies and under which the British executive can, by certification, enact as law a bill which the Assembly has refused to pass.

The non-co-operative movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi, who is still in prison, having failed, the Swaraj Party decided to enter the elective bodies with the aim of wrecking the Government by obstruction and forcing the authorities to the unpopular courses of certification, of dissolving the Assemblies and ruling by advisory councils. The release of extremists such as the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai just before the election lent strength to the opposition. On

the other hand, the Hindus and Moslems were once more at odds after a brief alliance.

The completion of the five-year term of Sir George Lloyd as Governor of Bombay marked the end of a strong and notable Administration. He took upon himself the responsibility of pressing for the arrest of Gandhi. He governed economically but initiated many progressive reforms. He made primary education compulsory, built tenement houses for the masses, improved

the sanitary conditions in Bombay and raised loans for this work and the great Sukkar irrigation scheme.

The series of murders of British subjects on the Northwest frontier have led to acute relations with Afghanistan, where many of the guilty tribesmen have taken refuge. Strong representations have been sent to Kabul demanding that the Government capture the tribesmen and hand them over to justice.

## FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

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THE better understanding with Britain and America following the arrangement for conferences, with unofficial American participation, upon the reparations issue, and also the indications that Germany is at length making a serious effort to come to terms with her creditors, have made December a month of relative calm in France, despite anxiety over the increasing cost of living and the sinking exchange value of the franc. At the official reception to the Diplomatic Corps, on New Year's Day, President Millerand, recalling the good wishes proffered him by that body a year earlier, said: "Your wishes are beginning to be fulfilled. Our efforts [to secure lasting peace with justice] have been met with great resistance, which has retarded and diminished their results and brought about new miseries. Perseverance and the continuity of our policy pursued with inflexible moderation have, however, begun to bear fruit. France, whose national spirit is void of hate or discord, is calling with all her strength for reconciliation and peace. She ardently hopes that no new incident will delay their coming. \* \* \* It seems to me that we may allow ourselves to welcome the dawn of reconciliation and to establish peace."

The semi-official Temps has published an interview with Maximilian Harden in which the German publicist is represented as deriding the idea that France wishes to destroy Germany, and as saying that "Germany can pay," adding, "with what she has spent for passive resistance, for public works, and for the maintenance of illegal troops and all the useless or secret outlays which she has made up to the present, she might have paid her debt up to 1928." However unwelcome such utterances may be among Harden's own countrymen, they apparently give chapter and verse justification to the French defenders of the Poincaré policy, which now shows signs of becoming milder. A general election for the Chamber of Deputies will take place in April. M. Poincaré's chance of continuing in power will undoubtedly be strengthened if he

reaches some sort of working agreement with Germany, especially as it is one of the stock charges of his enemies that he is too harsh and "magisterial" to be a successful negotiator.

The Premier's control over the Chamber of Deputies remains unshaken. Not only was M. Poincaré sustained by decisive votes on his Ruhr policy, but he was victorious in divisions on less vital domestic issues. Thus when the Ministry was defeated, 331 to 200, on Dec. 20, over the question of increased compensation to State functionaries, after Finance Minister Lasteyrie had declared that the proposed outlay of 1,200,000,000 francs was more than the Treasury could bear, M. Poincaré refused to take the broad hints of "Resign!" shouted at him when the vote was announced, but mobilized his forces and labored with the dissident. Three days later the Chamber reversed itself and withdrew the pay increase by 339 votes to 211.

During the month the Chamber wrestled valiantly with the new electoral bill which it is desired to enact before the Spring elections. The question of woman suffrage, hitherto not a very momentous issue in France, was brought fairly to the front. In May, 1919, the Chamber voted in favor of woman suffrage (344 to 97), only to see it rejected by the more conservative Senate. The issue is now being presented again with better hopes for the suffragists, although with considerable difference of opinion as to the details of the new measure. It is reported that the Premier is not likely to oppose the evident desires of the majority of the Chamber. Article 1 of the proposed law gives the right of suffrage to all French citizens, men and women, who have attained the age of 21. Article 2 provides that "the father of a family also shall exercise the right of suffrage on behalf of minor legitimate children of both sexes as well as of natural children whose paternity is acknowledged before the proper authorities." The object of Article 2 is clearly to put a premium on large families, a matter of prime importance in France, but bitter objection has been made by the suffrage associa-

tions on the ground that too much favor is shown the male parent.

The elections for the Senate, held on Jan. 6, resulted in little change, only six members being defeated for re-election. As the membership of the Departmental General Councils, which elect the Senators, has not changed since the last balloting, the electoral result does not necessarily represent the state of French opinion, which will be expressed in the Spring elections for the Chamber of Deputies. Premier Poincaré was returned to the Senate by 794 votes out of 810.

The relief of the tension with England in the matter of reparations has not prevented harsh words from that country about the new loans arranged by France with the succession States of Eastern Europe. Poland will receive 400,000,000 francs, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia 300,000,000 each, and Rumania 100,000,000. There is also talk of a French loan to Hungary. These funds are to be used in strengthening the armies of the recipient powers. Those armies, according to British opinion, are simply the tools in France's plan for maintaining her hegemony on the Continent. French governmental circles profess extreme irritation at British suggestions that, if the Third Republic has these funds available to loan, it has funds wherewith to pay its own external debts. The Temps on Dec. 30 bluntly informed Lord Curzon that self-preservation comes before debt payment, and that if England had not been in such a hurry to pay the United States, she would have had the support of all the other nations which owe money to the United States. "Why do these nations ask credit of us?" continued the Temps. "Because they must increase their armament to protect their frontiers. And why do they need to protect their frontiers? Because, thanks to the British policy of the balance of power, peace in Europe is not consolidated."

Although French official grievances are largely against Britain, a great body of public opinion is undoubtedly highly critical of America. In the closing debate in the Chamber before the holiday adjournment, M. Paul Reynaud, a very influential Deputy, flatly placed the ultimate responsibility for the economic crisis upon the United States. "America weighs upon England's shoulders," declared M. Reynaud; "England weighs upon ours, and we are a burden upon Germany. This is a strangely impressive pyramid. America will never relieve us of paying off what we owe her." He concluded by saying that the proposed bonus to American ex-service men was really to be collected from the French taxpayer, according to the schemes of certain American Presidential candidates.

On Dec. 18 at least one of the subsidiary questions between France and other powers was

settled at Paris, when Spain, Britain and France signed the "Tangier agreement," providing for the neutralization of that important city in Morocco, along with a special zone, the entire district to be governed by an "International Assembly" composed of seventeen Europeans, of whom four are to be Spaniards, four Englishmen and four Frenchmen, plus nine natives, six of them Moslems and three Jews. The Assembly is to function through an administrator and two assistant administrators, and in view of the preponderant interests of France, for six years the chief administrator is to be French and his colleagues British and Spanish. The gendarmerie is to have a Belgian commander. It is worth noting that, since America was party to the old Algeciras agreement, one member of the Assembly may be an American. Italy gets no preferred position at Tangier above the other subsidiary signatories at Algeciras, a fact which has led the Rome newspapers to inveigh bitterly against French diplomacy. Seemingly the grip of the Third Republic upon Morocco has again been tightened.

French finance continues to present its problems. The exchange value of the franc sank in New York to 4.91 on Jan. 7. After the closing of the Bourse on Jan. 14, the franc fell as low as 23 and a fraction to the dollar. It is held in Paris that this is the result partly of German machinations and partly of British efforts to put pressure upon French policy.

The year ended with the French public debt approximating 400,000,000,000 francs, an increase of 20,000,000 since Jan. 1, 1923. Of this the internal debt is about 269,000,000 francs: the external debt, 26,000,000. No money was borrowed abroad in 1923, but internal loans of 19,000,000 francs were successfully floated, and another loan of 13,000,000 francs for reconstruction of the liberated regions is contemplated. The French people are said to be less troubled than foreigners about their public finances, and the new loans are readily absorbed, but, as Senator Bérenger declared in a recent report to the upper house, "We know how fragile and menaced will be the (Treasury) balance so long as the enormous mass of the so-called 'recoverable budget from Germany' is left to weigh heavily upon our finances."

Of greater interest to most Frenchmen is the serious increase in the cost of living. On Dec. 15 the price of bread in Paris was raised to 1 franc 20 centimes per kilogram (2.2 pounds), and on Dec. 27 Parliament passed a law restricting rent advances to 100 per cent. over the charges of 1914. It is reported that the Paris middle classes are being compelled to visit the pawnshops with dangerous frequency. How far this increase in prices is tied up with the fall in the franc has been a subject for angry debates in the Chamber of Deputies.

A long-standing anomaly was ended Jan. 6, when the Catholic Church was granted legal status by the Government, with the right to occupy its former property. Since the Briand Ministry in 1905 stripped the Church of its property, Roman Catholicism has been without legal standing, although the rigor of the expropriating act was often mitigated by the leniency of local authorities. Many priests remained in their churches in tacit defiance of the law, which applied equally to other sects, parish members being required to form local religious corporations. Protestants and Jews complied, but Pope Pius X., fearing the alienation of French Catholicism from the Roman Church, refused to do so. Under a special governmental decree the former property of the Church will be put in charge of a few regional corporations, each under a Roman Catholic Bishop.

Much damage to property was done in and about Paris by the unusually high stage of the River Seine, which inundated not only the low-lying suburbs but flooded the cellars of buildings in the heart of the city.

Americans have followed with sorrowful interest the reports of the disaster to the great French airship *Dixmude*. The *Dixmude* took the air on Dec. 18 to cruise from France to North Africa and back. She reached a point above Tunis safely, but was subsequently caught in a gale, wireless was put out of commission and all attempts to locate her failed. After desperate search by land and sea the body of her commander, Lieutenant du Plessis de Grenadan, was found by fishermen off Sicily. The fate of the forty-nine other men aboard is unknown. The general theory was that the unwieldy aircraft, completely out of control, came to her end by some sudden explosion.

Among other important events in France was the celebration of the twenty-fifth discovery of radium, and the honors heaped upon Mme. Curie. By vote of Parliament a pension of 40,000 francs was granted her and her children, and on Dec. 26 in a great public meeting at the Sorbonne, with President Millerand presiding, speeches in her

honor were made by Rector Appell of the University of Paris and other savants.

### BELGIUM

**K**ING ALBERT'S Ministers have not found themselves in perfect accord with the entire Poincaré policy, but in the main they have continued steadfast in their support of France in the Ruhr. The attitude of the country seems summed up in the statement made by M. Brunet, the distinguished Socialist Deputy, who, speaking at Courcelles on Dec. 9, declared: "We require that Germany should repair all the damages which were wrought by the war. You know what is the situation in our country. We have a debt of approximately 40,000,000,000 francs, which implies 5,000 francs per inhabitant. Germany finds herself in a wholly different case, for her population owes only 70 francs per head. We must have reparations. It is an impossibility for us to exist if this situation is not changed. Germany must pay up; first, in order to avoid the outbreak of a new war; second, because it is a simple question of justice."

The Belgian Government has agreed to pay Holland 46,758,000 Dutch florins (about \$18,000,000) for the maintenance of Belgian soldiers interned in that country during the war. Payments will be distributed over a period of five years.

The Commission of Finance has reported to the Chamber of Representatives that the "ordinary budget" of Belgium is in excellent condition. The outlay of 3,354,000,000 francs is matched by receipts of only 9,000,000 less. Despite the increase in the cost of living, there has been no increase in the regular expenses of administration, notwithstanding the appropriation of 13,500,000 francs for the relief of State employees with families. An increase of 777,000,000 francs in tax receipts over the estimates for 1923 has produced a decidedly favorable situation. This condition of the "ordinary budget" does not diminish the enormous interest of the Brussels Treasury in German reparations.

## GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

By WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD

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### GERMANY

**I**NTERNATIONAL interest in German affairs has centred upon the food problem and the monetary situation largely responsible for it. A message, early in December, from President Ebert to the American Committee for the Relief of German Children, requesting that it make a survey of conditions which would

enable the work of alleviating distress to be carried on most effectively, was answered by the dispatch of two representatives. The actual distribution of supplies will be in the hands of the American Society of Friends. The Germans themselves, through the Government, charitable bodies and individual effort, have done much to cope with the problem, and aid is being furnished from Switzerland, Holland, the Scandinavian countries and

even from Austria, but the greatest hope of relief rests with the people of the United States.

According to a statement issued by one of the American investigators early in January, undernourishment among children and adults in Berlin alone is "widespread, increasing and genuine." The milk supply of the city, he adds, is one-tenth of the pre-war consumption. One-quarter of the population is dependent upon public and private charity. "The shortage of food, coal, light and houses, combined with diminishing medical and hospital facilities, is causing an increase in disease." Similar estimates are available as to the conditions in other important centres of population.

Although Germany's grain harvest was abundant last year, the casual remark of a prominent Junker, that "Germany might starve with bursting barns," was a simple assertion of fact. The problem it poses is complicated by a variety of factors, chief among which is the question of how to get the food to the people. Neither more nor less generous than tillers of the soil the world over, and other folk who have something that is craved by those unable to pay for it, German farmers have not felt disposed to sell their produce for a currency of diminishing worth. They have preferred to turn it into the fattening of cattle. On the other hand, the prices demanded are too high for the people at large to pay. The course of inflation which has brought the paper mark down into an "irreducible minimum" in billions has annihilated their savings and rendered their wages and other forms of income utterly insufficient. This, in turn, has lowered the standard of living, and along with it the efficiency of the workers. During December and early January, to be sure, the relative stability that the currency had attained since the introduction of the rentenmark brought the cost of food down quite considerably, but the improvement did not become extensive enough to benefit the mass of the urban population.

Apart from actual suffering, due to the lack of the necessities of life, what engaged public attention in Germany was the financial crisis. The rentenbank, created for the purpose of issuing a new currency, based upon a species of blanket mortgage on the private property of the country, has operated not only to lower prices but in some degree to inspire general confidence. Exchangeable at the Reichsbank for the ordinary paper marks at a ratio officially fixed, rentenmarks have been put into circulation by applying them to payment of the salaries of Government employees and to the purchase of foodstuffs in Germany. Thanks to this currency and to the so-called "gold loan" currency, prices have been placed definitely upon a gold basis. The Government, on Jan. 6, decreed that business concerns must report their balance sheets in gold marks.

Although the printing of paper marks under the auspices of the Reichsbank has ceased, the flood of emergency money has continued to pour from the note presses of cities, Federal banks, corporations and other public and private agencies. The Reichsbank has refused to accept this emergency currency, but the necessity of meeting deficits by resort to the printing press instead of by balancing local expenditure and income, threatens to depreciate the rentenmark and to drive it into the strong boxes of hoarders, in spite of the severity of police measures against hoarding.

The means at the disposal of the German Treasury remain precarious in the extreme. The 1,200,000,000 rentenmarks turned over to the Government by the Rentenbank, with the object of enabling it to balance the national budget during the course of two years, were used up in about eight weeks, and the Rentenbank declined to lend any more. Other expedients met with comparatively little success. These included the imposition of increasingly heavier taxation, the diminution of the cost of judicial procedure by curtailing appeals and limiting the number of private suits, and the dismissal of thousands of Government employees. Retained employees had to submit to a lengthening of their hours of service and a reduction of their salaries. President Ebert's own salary, indeed, has been lowered to barely \$6,000 a year. Should the Government adhere to its policy of regarding federal and State bonds as mere paper-mark securities, the entire funded indebtedness of the republic, at the present exchange value of that currency, would be worth less than 2 cents!

Whether the election by the Reichsrat on Dec. 18 of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, the present Federal Currency Commissioner, to the Presidency of the Reichsbank will enable the Government to escape bankruptcy depends upon a variety of circumstances, not the least of which is the opposition of the Nationalist element among the Directors of that institution. Nominally, Dr. Schacht has been vested with a dictatorship over the finances of Germany analogous to the military and police control held under the Emergency law by the commander of the Reichswehr.

The new currency has done little to help the laboring classes of the country. Not only has there been a fall in wages, measured in gold values and in purchasing power, but the working day in the case of numerous industries has been increased to nine and even ten hours. Impoverished by the frightful depreciation of the paper mark, the German trades unions have been rendered practically powerless to carry on their struggle with the employers. Always underpaid, the workers have no money to spare from the maintenance of themselves and their families for the support of their organizations. The assertion of the capitalists that the depression from which their commercial and industrial interests are suf-

fering can be remedied only by more intensive work and longer hours of labor seems about to be substantiated. That the depression may have come in large part from the reckless advance of prices to a gold level during the period of greatest inflation from last Summer onward need not be taken into account.

The political situation in unoccupied Germany has been quiet. A Ministerial decree issued on Dec. 11 conferred upon the former Kaiser and Crown Prince the title of "Princes of Prussia." In view of the behavior of certain Germans traveling abroad it was decided early in January to restrict the issuance of passports to citizens who could prove their moral responsibility. It was felt that German citizens should so comport themselves abroad as to win respect and sympathy for the Reich, and that utterances that awakened dislike and hostility should be discouraged.

#### AUSTRIA

BY way of contrast to its northern neighbor, the economic position of Austria has continued to improve. With a public revenue already sufficient to meet ordinary expenditures, the prospect of balancing the budget by 1925 seems bright. The chief objection, raised by the Socialists, to the Government's methods of retrenchment, was the apparent failure to take into consideration the increase in revenue, especially in consideration of the heavy taxes that have to be borne. Though confronted with a brief strike on the part of the postal, telegraph and telephone employees over a question of wages, the Government managed to adjust the trouble without serious difficulty. One evidence of the return of the country to financial soundness was the adoption, late in December, of a plan to introduce the coinage of silver.

### ITALY

By LILY ROSS TAYLOR

Associate Professor of Latin, Vassar College

WHEN King Victor Emmanuel on Dec. 10 signed the decree closing the session of Parliament a few days after it had been reconvened, the expectation was that a general election would soon follow. The Parliament, though not in session, has not yet been dissolved, however, and though party leaders have been making active preparations for an appeal to the country, Mussolini, in a letter published on Dec. 19, stated that he had not yet decided whether the election was to take place or not. The general opinion seems to be that the election will be held, though probably not until May, when several prominent Fascisti, until recently enrolled in the National Militia, will be permitted, under the law, to become candidates. There is much speculation on the new party alignments. Among the Fascisti themselves, in spite of Mussolini's "purification" of the party, there seems still to be an element composed chiefly of the provincial leaders who adopt an uncompromising attitude and oppose the collaboration with other parties which Mussolini himself favors. Such an attitude is perhaps responsible for acts of violence like the raiding of former Premier Nitti's house in November. Such incidents are still reported from time to time, though far less commonly than formerly.

The "Popular" (Catholic) Party seems to have divided into two groups, one of which supports Mussolini, while the other, following Don Sturzo, maintains a strong attitude of opposition. There is considerable doubt as to the course which the liberal parties will adopt. Three

former Premiers, Giolitti, Orlando and Bonomi, have lately been holding conferences. Of the three, Bonomi is the only one who has opposed Mussolini. It is probable that many Liberals will support Mussolini, as Carnazza, a prominent Social Democrat, now Minister of Public Works, has done. The Socialists are in the Opposition. The Communist Bombacci, who was expelled from his party and asked to resign his seat in the Chamber after he had lauded Mussolini, has appealed to Moscow.

Mussolini himself is making overtures to labor. It is recalled that some time ago Italian labor authorities declined to treat with him because he was not a constitutional Premier. Hence Mussolini's failure to ask for an extension of his extraordinary powers and his assumption, on the expiration of his powers on Jan. 1, of the status of constitutional Prime Minister are regarded by many as calculated to dispel the distrust which labor felt for his dictatorship. In Rome, on Dec. 19, he addressed a joint meeting of the Federation of Industry and the Fascista labor syndicates. After explaining his opinion of the fundamental error of Marxian principles, he said: "Owners' rights cannot exceed certain limits, and the same applies to labor's rights. Co-operation ought to be reciprocally desired. The Government is not under the orders of one side or the other; it is over all, comprising in itself not only the political conscience of the nation but all that the nation represents for the future." He proposed the convening of a permanent commission of the Federation of Industry whenever there were matters of general interest to be discussed.

In financial matters the outlook in Italy is good. The declarations of di Stefani, Minister of Finance, in the Senate on Dec. 9, make good campaign material for the Fascisti in the expected elections. Di Stefani stated that the deficit for 1923, in spite of the unforeseen international incidents of recent months, was still less than had been estimated. In the operation of the railways the deficit, the Finance Minister stated, was decreasing, and in the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph the budget was actually balanced. The paper currency in circulation was being steadily reduced. Thefts on the railroads, for which the State had had in the past to pay heavy damages, had greatly decreased, and unemployment had become relatively an unimportant question.

The comparative stability of the value of the lira while the franc declines is indicative of a sound financial situation. Except for the month of October, the excess of imports over exports remains greater month by month than in 1922, but this situation is partly explained by the fact that a large part of the imports of 1923 are raw materials which will be exported later on. Much is expected from the new commercial treaties, which, it is hoped, will give Italy new markets. The Italian excess of imports over exports is also in part offset by the sums which Italian emigrants send home and by the money which foreign tourists spend in Italy. Marked growth is taking place in certain industries, notably in hydroelectric enterprises and in the manufacture of automobiles.

The strengthening of Italy's air force continued during the past month and an interesting plan to increase the air fleet further by voluntary contributions has been devised. Each of the seventy-two provinces under this plan will give an airplane bearing the name of the province; the Central Committee of the Fascisti will give a plane bearing Mussolini's name.

In foreign policy Italy continues to show a marked divergence from France. It is understood that the Italian Government has made clear to the French Government that Italy will not give her consent to an independent Rhineland or to the annexation of the Ruhr. The recent French treaty with Czechoslovakia and the accumulative evidence of France's close alliances in the Balkans have caused much anxiety in Italy, where it is pointed out that these alliances would be useful against Italy as well as against Germany. Italy's exclusion from the Tangier conference still rankles, and the denationalization of former Italian subjects in Tunis, which is now being treated as an integral part of France, has lately aroused bitter feelings. The persistent report that a naval alliance had been concluded between Italy and Spain received official denial from the Italian Minister of the Navy on Jan. 1, and again on Jan. 10. The only treaty existing

between the two nations, it was stated, is the commercial treaty concluded a few days after the departure of the Spanish sovereigns from Italy.

Difficulties have arisen between Italy and Great Britain over Italy's claim for a rectification of her frontier through the extension of Italian Somaliland to include part of Jubaland, formerly a portion of German East Africa. The rectification demanded would give Italy some valuable cotton-growing territory, and would, the British



GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

A recent photograph of the Italian poet and patriot as he appeared on a visit to the ruins of Dezzo, destroyed by the flood from the artificial lake of Gleno

Foreign Office holds, affect the native water supply and cut across British caravan routes. The *Messaggero*, on Jan. 8, stated that the matter had been temporarily shelved.

The report of the interallied commission to inquire into the Janina murders, not made public at the time the Council of Ambassadors awarded 50,000,000 lire to Greece, was published by The *Manchester Guardian* on Dec. 28. It is inconclusive on the question of the responsibility for the crime, though a supplementary report by the Italian delegate asserts that Greek authorities were involved. The report gives instances of Greek negligence in the search for the culprits, but suggests that they may have been due, in part, to inadequate police organization in Greece. The final recommendation is that the investigation be continued.

Mussolini has won in his contest with the university students who went on strike. At a conference with the representatives of the Fascista students on Dec. 13 he was unyielding. "As long as the students are agitating in the public squares they will not, even supposing they have all possible arguments in their favor, secure the slightest satisfaction," he stated. School and university reform was, he said, needed to produce a ruling class, now lacking; such a class can be secured only by gradual training, and that training was expected to result from the more serious work demanded by Gentile's program. The reforms are still being attacked. An article in the *Corriere della Sera* of Dec. 18 calls attention to the fact that though in some respects the teacher's liberty of instruction is increased, other liberties have been lost. For instance, the Rectors and Deans of universities, hitherto elected by Faculties, are now appointed by the Government.

A marble tablet has recently been erected at Monte Rotondo, near Rome, to mark the spot where the Black Shirts assembled on Oct. 28,

1922, to prepare for the Fascista "march on Rome." In the presence of Garibaldi's son, General Ricciotti Garibaldi, Mussolini pointed out the "historical and ideal continuity" of the two marches on Rome, both of which, he said, brought salvation to Italy.

The torrential rains of November have been followed by bad weather and unprecedented cold throughout Italy. In late December and early January snow was reported throughout Italy, including many sections of Sicily where snow had not fallen for years. On Jan. 5 there was skating on the Lagoon and canals of Venice for the first time, it is said, since the revolution of 1848, another year of bitter cold. Railroad and telegraph communications, especially in North Italy, were seriously interrupted.

On Jan. 2 and 3, during the intense cold, there were earthquake tremors in the Marches, and, though serious damage was not reported, the inhabitants of many villages were said to have left their homes and to have suffered greatly from exposure.

D'Annunzio, poet and "hero of Fiume," who for the last two years has been living in seclusion, has bequeathed his entire estate to the nation. His villa with the beautiful garden, in which he has erected an Altar of Victory, he wishes to have kept as a monument of Italian achievement in the war.

Professor Felix Lamond, Director of the School of Music lately added to the American Academy in Rome, has received the signal honor of election to honorary membership in the Musical Academy of Saint Cecilia. The last recipient of this honor before Professor Lamond was Richard Strauss.

Another distinguished Italian, Luigi Pirandello, poet and playwright, recently arrived in America. He is attending the rehearsals of his play, *Henry the Fourth*, now being given in several European capitals, and soon to be produced in New York.

## SPAIN, PORTUGAL, SWITZERLAND, HOLLAND, DENMARK, NORWAY

By RICHARD HEATH DABNEY  
Professor of History, University of Virginia

### SPAIN

**A**LTHOUGH Primo de Rivera may be unfamiliar with Cromwell's remark that it is easier to keep sheep than to govern men, he has doubtless been gradually learning the truth of Cromwell's aphorism. On Jan. 8 a "royal" decree was issued dissolving the Chamber of Deputies and dismissing the elective members of the Senate, the life Senators being deprived of their Parliamentary immunity. On the previous

day the Marquis Cortina was ordered into exile for writing what the Government considered a subversive article in the *Actualidad Financiera*. This indicates that not all the proud and sensitive Spaniards enjoy Dictatorship. Even the army, by which Rivera rose to power, is not fully enjoying it. The Dictator on Dec. 8 found it necessary to tell the infantry officers of the Madrid garrison that differences and rivalries among the various branches of the service must cease. By promising that the army should not be reduced,

and by praising it for wiping out within two years "the stain of the rout at Annual," de Rivera endeavored to conciliate the officers. But he evidently feels uneasy, for he had not long before urged unity upon the artillery officers at the festival of their patron saint, Barbara. Moreover, King Alfonso (doubtless under Rivera's coaching) had on Dec. 1 said to the Barcelona Garrison: "Whatever may happen to the army, the people and myself, we must continue to be united."

Some think that the Dictator, on Dec. 22, took a first step toward the restoration of civilian government. At all events, a corps of civilian advisers, or Under Secretaries of State, was formed. The military directorate retains the final word in all questions.

It is difficult to gauge genuine public opinion or even to gain a clear idea of what is happening in a country under rigid censorship of the press. Note, for example, the letters of "Catalonian" and "Asturian" in The New York Times of Dec. 12 and 23, respectively. The former says that the Government loan of Nov. 5 was a "dismal failure in Catalonia," and attributes the holding aloof of Catalonian bankers from the loan to their conservatism and patriotism. "Asturian," however, says that the news is not genuine, since "the Barcelona financiers are not the kind that would let politics interfere with business." At all events, "Asturian" thinks, the contributions from Madrid and Bilbao assure the success of the loan, which seems to be true. The refunding operation of November was described as entirely successful in cable advices, which added that the new bond issue was more than four times oversubscribed.

The jubilation in Spain over the Italo-Spanish accord is perhaps excessive. The Paris Temps, mouthpiece of French foreign policy, said on Nov. 30: "It seems to us that an Anglo-French accord for the defense of the maritime routes and for defense against air attacks must be the necessary complement of any Mediterranean accord concluded or in preparation between the powers." England and France were inevitably driven closer together by the recent meeting in Rome of Rivera and Mussolini, as may be seen, for example, in the terms of the Tangier agreement provisionally signed in Paris on Dec. 18 by the representatives of Great Britain, France and Spain. The Spanish delegate intimated his dissatisfaction by saying that he regarded the convention as a mere suggestion to his Government. Spain, it is true, gets four of the twenty-six members of the International Legislative Assembly of Tangier, but the Administrator for the first six years will be a Frenchman, while the positive prohibition of fortifications at Tangier insures Great Britain against danger to Gibraltar.

By the seizure of documents and the arrest

of conspirators the Spanish Government has nipped in the bud a Communist plot, alleged to have been financed in Moscow, for an uprising in Spain and Portugal set for Dec. 28. Ten professional assassins were said to be awaiting the opportunity to kill Rivera at Seville, but he postponed his visit.

A governmental decree issued on Jan. 12 ordered the dissolution of all Provincial Legislatures except those in the Basque provinces and Navarre.

## PORTUGAL

THE Premiership of Dr. Ginstal Machado, which began on Nov. 15, came to an end on Dec. 13. The new Premier, Colonel Alvaro de



RAISULI

The so-called brigand and "Sultan of the Mountains" who for a long time held the Spaniards in check in Morocco and whose agreement to acknowledge Spanish rule more than a year ago has greatly helped toward the pacification of the country. This photograph was brought back by Mrs. Rosita Forbes, the English explorer, who visited Raisuli at Tazrut, a town in the mountainous interior of Spanish Morocco where he has his headquarters.

Castro, promised to abstain from party strife, to reduce expenses and increase receipts.

But Captain Cunha Leal, Finance Minister under Machado, had also promised to eliminate the deficit. The first financial proposals of Leal (a Nationalist), relating to the contracts with the Bank of Portugal, passed the Senate, with several amendments by the Democrats, and he proposed various other measures, such as the sale of many of the scandalously large number of State motor cars and telephones, a reduction in the number of public functionaries, a tax on wine, beer and spirits and a tax on windows and doors. What the new Ministry will do remains to be seen.

#### SWITZERLAND

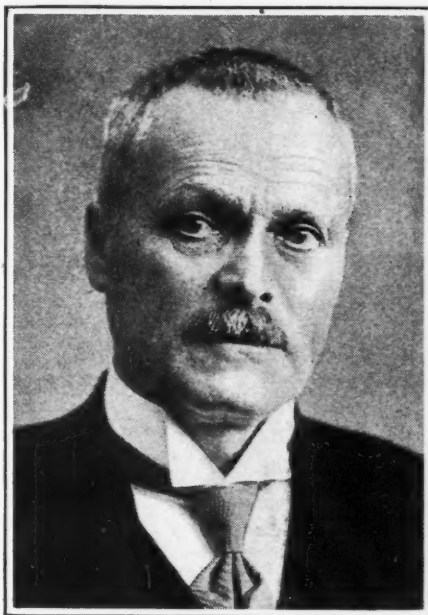
**T**HE number of university professors chosen for high political positions has been recently increased by the election of Ernest Chuard, long a professor at the University of Lausanne, to the Presidency of Switzerland. President Chuard has been prominent as teacher, chemist, economist and statesman. Almost as soon as he was elected, a plot against his life was frustrated by the arrest of a Lausanne physician.

Avalanches have been reported from many points in Switzerland, due to the heavy snowfall, which surpasses anything within the memory of the present generation.

The League of Nations has, in connection with its fifth anniversary, issued a statement declaring that 1923 saw the completion of the task of creating the main elements of its organization and the extension of its labors to wider fields. "All the principal agencies of the League," says the statement, "on questions relating to politics, law, finance, economics, transit, health and humanitarian activities, are now definitely established, and there has come into being a precise realization of the part to be played in international life by an association of sovereign nations." After sketching the League's achievements during the year, the statement declares: "It is obvious that 1923 has brought a profound widening and deepening of the League's organization and helpful activity."

The Council of the League agreed at its Paris meeting (Dec. 11) on the letter to be sent to the United States inviting American participation in the framing of new conventions for control of the traffic in arms. Two days later it decided to call two conferences in Geneva next November to push the war on the opium traffic.

The naval subcommission of the League, in connection with two proposed conferences to secure world-wide extension of the principles of the Washington naval treaty, has framed a tentative draft laying down the capital ship limi-



DR. ERNEST CHUARD  
President of the Swiss Republic for the  
year 1924

tation for the chief powers that did not sign the Washington accord. This will serve as a basis of discussion at the meeting of naval experts which the League desires to convoke in a manner that will insure the presence of Russia.

#### HOLLAND

**T**HE Netherlands Government has acceded to the proposal of the American Minister at The Hague to negotiate a new treaty of amity and commerce on the basis of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment. Negotiations are also in progress between the two countries concerning search and seizure of vessels carrying alcoholic liquors in violation of United States laws and concerning the transit of alcoholic liquors on Dutch vessels through American territorial waters when consisting of sealed stores or cargo not destined for United States ports.

Jonkheer Beelaerts von Blekland has failed to form a "business Cabinet," his chief difficulty being in finding a Minister of Finance.

#### DENMARK

**A**S many Germans have been buying farms in the Danish port of South Schleswig, the Danish Government proposes, in conjunction with local organizations, to establish small Danish farms along the frontier by way of protecting the frontier.

Frank P. Lund, a native of Denmark, is attempting, as the representative of the United States Department of Agriculture, to establish, with the financial aid of the Rockefeller Institute, small model farms to be cultivated by young Danes in their spare time. This, it is hoped, will lead to important agricultural reforms.

King Christian, on Dec. 27, consented to public announcement of the engagement of his cousin, Prince Viggo, Count of Rosenborg, to Miss Eleanor Margaret Green, daughter of Dr. J. O. Green of New York, granddaughter of Abram S. Hewitt and great-granddaughter of Peter Cooper. Prince Viggo renounces his right of succession to the throne.

## NORWAY

THE Storting has decided by 104 votes to 36 that tariff rates on goods upon which the duty is assessed by weight shall, with a few exceptions, be paid in gold. An increase of 2,000,000 kroner in customs receipts is expected from this change.

Dr. Fridtjof Nansen sailed for home from New York on Dec. 15.

In Christiania it is believed in political circles that a bill to repeal the prohibition law will be enacted by the Storting at its next session, enabling the Government to raise 40,000,000 kroner by taxes on liquor.

## EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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### BULGARIA

IN September the Tsankoff Government suppressed a formidable Communist rising, and in December it won a clear-cut victory over the Communists and Agrarians at the polls. Political conditions, however, have not been stabilized. The Communists continue active, and, although their representatives in the Sobranje have firmly denied that the party is collaborating with the Third International, it is generally believed that its relations with Moscow are fairly close. Furthermore, the Communists and Agrarians have lately joined forces; and at the end of December General Russeff, Minister of the Interior, charged in the Sobranje that the leaders of the two parties were actively plotting a new uprising. It would appear that this dangerous coalition could have been prevented if the Government had been wise enough in its dealings with the Agrarians to discriminate between the extremists and the moderates.

In view of the continuing tension, M. Tsankoff and his colleagues are urging upon the Allies that, instead of being obliged to rely for troops entirely upon volunteers, as the treaty of Neuilly requires, they ought to be permitted to recruit at least a quarter of the national army on a conscript basis; and they would be glad to see a considerable increase over the treaty maximum of 33,000 men—a small force compared with the forces of other Balkan States. So far, however, the plea has fallen upon deaf ears. None of the Allies care to see further Bolshevik triumphs in the Balkans. Yugoslavia, Rumania, Serbia and Greece, however, are strongly opposed to any form of conscription in Bulgaria, or any other mode of strengthening the Bulgar armed forces; and the commitments of France, in particular, to the nations of the Little Entente create an in-

superable obstacle. Rumania and Greece have special reasons to look with apprehension upon the possible advent of a Communist-Agrarian Government in Bulgaria, but, even so, they are unwilling to see the military power of the present anti-Bolshevist régime increased. Yugoslavia, although less fearful of the consequences of Communist rule at Sofia, is even more opposed to any intervention that will help the Tsankoff Government, which is generally believed at Belgrade to be responsible for Macedonian intrigues against Yugoslav interests.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE outstanding event of the month in Czechoslovakia was the conclusion of a treaty of political alliance with France. The conception of such a treaty dates at least from the visit of President Masaryk and Prime Minister Benès to Paris last October; indeed, it was erroneously reported at that time that a treaty had been signed. The pact was definitely agreed upon by Premiers Poincaré and Benès at Paris on Dec. 27, when the Czechoslovak Minister departed for his own country, after a three weeks' absence, bearing a draft of the instrument. It was stated that formal signature would take place later at Prague, and that, on another visit of Benès to Paris toward the middle of January, the alliance would be formally proclaimed and the treaty filed with the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva.

Pending these final formalities, the text of the treaty was not made public. The broad lines of agreement, however, soon became a matter of common knowledge. First of all, the two States pledged themselves to the full execution of the peace treaties concluded respectively at Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly. Secondly, they pledged mutual support in case of ag-

gression upon their territories or rights. Thirdly, they agreed—at the special insistence of Benès—to uphold the League of Nations Covenant and to work for the League's perpetuity and success. Lastly, they agreed to submit to arbitration any differences arising between them which cannot be adjusted by ordinary diplomatic methods. A portion of the treaty relates also to economic matters, particularly tariffs.

Although the agreement involved to some extent only a consolidation of existing treaties, it challenged the attention of the entire European world, particularly in view of the fact that it was credibly reported that Benès intended to use his influence to bring about similar pacts between France and the remaining members of the Little and the commitments of France, in particular, to of representatives of the Little Entente States, scheduled for Belgrade on Jan. 9, was expected to assume special significance in this connection. The Franco-Czechoslovak agreement contained no military clause beyond the stipulation of reciprocal support in case of resistance to aggression. It was widely believed, however, that a definite military alliance would follow; and it was recalled that the extensive Czechoslovak military establishment (150,000 troops, on a peace footing) had been maintained in part out of the proceeds of loans received from Paris.

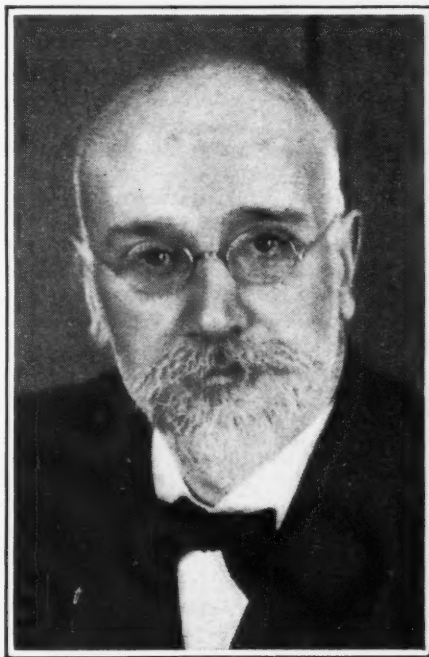
The new arrangement, consequently, has been viewed with apprehension in many quarters, notably in Austria, where it is feared that Balkan complications will result, and in Italy, where, although it is conceded that the agreement is directed chiefly against a possible offensive movement in Germany, there is much jealousy of the hegemony which France is manifestly building up in Central Europe and a keen realization that this supremacy might quite as easily be given an anti-Italian as an anti-German slant. In England, too, there has been considerable castigation of what is set down as French imperialism—the building of a “ring of French satrapies around Germany.” On the other hand, it is pointed out that it is quite as much to Czechoslovakia's interest that Germany be prosperous as that France be strong, and that the astute and dispassionate Benès would hardly have committed his country to active support of French reparation policy unless he expected to be able to exercise a decisive moderating influence in the future shaping of that policy. Whatever the outcome, the treaty has stirred feverish interest, and the Little Entente has become more than ever a main factor in international politics.

The dispute between Czechoslovakia and Poland over the delimitation of the Teschen district, which was divided between the two countries by the Council of Ambassadors on July 28, 1920, after a projected plebiscite had been abandoned, was settled in the middle of December in favor of Czechoslovakia by the Permanent Court

of International Justice at The Hague, which pronounced in favor of the boundary line laid down by the Ambassadors.

#### GREECE

THE long postponed general election—the first since the revolutionary Government of Gonatas and Plastiras was established in September, 1922, following the final deposition of King Constantine—was held, without untoward incident, on Dec. 16. The results gave ample proof of the rapid conquest of the country by republicanism during the past two years, and particularly since the Metaxist uprising of last October. Considerably more than one-third of the 400 members of the new National Assembly are avowed republicans, and most of the remainder are Liberals, who at the time of their election were divided only on the interpretation they placed on the attitude of their chief, Venizelos, regarding the method by which, and the speed with which, the republic should be realized. Venizelos himself, and the moderate wing of his party, thought that for a time a strictly limited monarchy, on the pattern of the British, would be best for the country. But though there are still many ardent monarchists, their leaders have been largely put out of the way by the Gonatas-Plastiras revolutionary Government, and their parties are in



ELEUTHERIOS VENIZELOS

The former Greek Premier who recently returned to Greece and who, it was announced on Jan. 11, has formed a new Cabinet.



KING GEORGE II. AND QUEEN ELIZABETH OF GREECE

Who were driven into exile until the Greeks should decide whether to retain their monarchical form of government or set up a republic

eclipse. They account, however, for the major portion of the third of the electorate which stayed away from the polls at the December election.

While the crowned heads of Balkan States watched the situation nervously—especially Queen Marie of Rumania, whose daughter, Elizabeth, is married to the Greek King, George II.—the extreme republicans at Athens held delirious mass meetings and planned to proclaim a republic forthwith. Other counsels, however, prevailed. In accordance with the admonitions given by Venizelos from his retreat in Paris, the Gonatas Cabinet determined to provide the most favorable conditions for the new Assembly to deliberate calmly upon the country's future constitutional régime; and accordingly when 4,000 army and navy officers, led by General Pangalos, Military Governor of Athens, presented a set of resolutions declaring that the unfortunate division among the Hellenes is due to the Glücksburg dynasty and that "the forfeiture of the crown by this dynasty is a national necessity," the Cabinet politely but firmly requested the King and Queen to withdraw from the country until the Assembly should have reached a decision. The King protested that during his fifteen months on the throne he had kept aloof from politics and that his presence in the country need not embarrass the Assembly. Nevertheless he consented

to go; and on the evening of Dec. 18 he and the Queen sailed from the Piraeus for Rumania. The royal couple were welcomed by the Rumanian sovereigns on their arrival at Bucharest Dec. 22. Whatever his own hopes when he sailed, few people expected George II. ever to return, for it was generally believed that even if the monarchy should be retained, the throne would pass to a new dynasty. Two days later a regency was established, in the person of Admiral Koundouriotis; but to republicans who demanded that the Government be turned over to them, Premier Gonatas replied that he and his colleagues had no intention of relinquishing office until the Assembly should have convened and organized.

Somewhat dazed by the situation in which it found itself, the country turned instinctively to M. Venizelos, the statesman whom it had repudiated, and in effect expelled, three years previously. Colonel Plastiras expressed a very widely shared conviction when he asserted that only the return of Venizelos could solve the problem and lay the foundation for a new Greece. Again and again the former leader had declared that he was out of Greek politics for all time and would never return to his country. But the pleas that now came to him at his newly established home in Paris proved irresistible. An invitation from his republican followers to return only if he favored immediate establishment of a republic

was ignored. But when an invitation shorn of all conditions came from the Gonatas Cabinet and over 300 members-elect of the new Assembly, M. Venizelos accepted it. On Dec. 29 he sailed from Marseilles, asserting that he had no intention to form a Ministry, or indeed to re-enter public life other than temporarily, and that his efforts would be directed solely to bringing his country "back to a normal course."

The National Assembly met as scheduled on Jan. 2, and was opened with brilliant ceremony. Plastiras, in a lengthy speech, reviewed the work of the revolutionaries of 1922 during the past fifteen months and, to the general surprise, proclaimed himself strongly in favor of a republic. Thereupon, amid shouts of "Long live the republic! Down with the King!" Premier Gonatas announced the resignation of the Government, and the Cabinet withdrew from the session. Venizelos made his appearance on Jan. 4, and although he promptly declined the request of the Regent to form a Ministry, he permitted himself to be elected to the Presidency of the Assembly. Even during the election, however, he was sharply attacked by the radical republicans, whose leader,

Admiral Hadjikiriakos, carried the attack to the floor of the Assembly, where in the presence of Venizelos he declared: "I am for ideas, not for idolatry." Venizelos, however, was elected President of the Assembly by 345 votes out of 356.

During the course of the Admiral's speech M. Venizelos was overcome by an attack of heart trouble and was assisted from the floor. His work of reconciling domestic differences may be hampered by this illness, which compelled him to take to his bed.

The failure of all the Liberal leaders to form a Cabinet finally forced Venizelos on Jan. 11 to take up the reins of Government as Premier without portfolio.

### HUNGARY

THE successful rehabilitation of Austria's finances, under the auspices of the League of Nations, has raised the question whether the same methods might not be applied to Hungary with equal benefit. In the middle of November the Finance Committee of the League started an inquiry largely by the argument of Premier Benès that month later it perfected a plan which, on Dec. 20, was adopted unanimously by the League Council. Thereupon the scheme was submitted to the Hungarian Government, on the one hand, and to the Little Entente and the nations to which reparations are due, on the other; and it is expected that replies will be received from all by the time the Council meets again in the middle of March.

It is confidently expected, too, that all of the replies will be favorable. Count Bethlen, the Hungarian Premier, has already pledged his country's acceptance and sincere co-operation; and the States which have been least disposed to look favorably upon Hungary's recovery, i. e., the members of the Little Entente, have been won over, largely by the argument of Premier Benès that Hungarian prosperity would be to their own economic advantage and that League supervision of Hungary's finances will carry with it strict control of her military measures and status.

The essentials of the rehabilitation plan are: (a) The League of Nations undertakes to float a loan of 250,000,000 gold crowns on Hungary's behalf and to establish budgetary equilibrium in the country by June 30, 1926; (b) Hungary turns over to the League the revenue from her customs and State monopolies and gives the League general supervision over her finances; (c) the plan is to be put into effect by a committee composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia; (d) all the interested nations agree to seek no special advantage through the arrangement; and (e) Hungary promises to abide strictly by the military and all other provisions of the Trianon peace treaty. To facilitate matters, the



Keystone

### GENERAL PANGALOS

A former Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army, who played an important part in the revolution last year and who has agreed to support the new régime under Venizelos

Reparation Commission has agreed to allow Hungary to pay all war indemnity claims against Hungary in annual instalments of 10,000,000 gold crowns for twenty years.

It is believed that the task of rehabilitation will be much easier in Hungary than in Austria. The situation was never as bad; the loan to be raised is only 40 per cent. as large; and, unlike Austria, Hungary, as an agricultural country, is economically in a position to be largely self-supporting.

#### POLAND

**F**OLLOWING negotiations running through several months, an exchange of documents took place on Dec. 14 between Russia and Po-

land, whereby Poland agreed to recognize the Union of Soviet Republics and to enter into normal diplomatic relations with it. M. Tchitcherin, on behalf of the Moscow Government, reiterated the intention of the Soviet Government to carry out all agreements with foreign countries contracted by the individual republics before the union. The Rumanian Foreign Minister, on Jan. 6, indicated the willingness of his country to extend similar recognition if the Moscow authorities would admit Rumania's right to Bessarabia. Rumanian occupation of Bessarabia, confirmed by the allied Powers, has long been a sore point in the diplomatic relations between Rumania and Soviet Russia. The Soviet Foreign Office has repeatedly protested against this occupation.

### RUSSIA

By ALEXANDER PETRUNKEVITCH  
Professor, Yale University

**W**HEN a Revolutionary Government seeks recognition by foreign powers and at the same time, forgetting its own obligations, threatens to submit a bill for damages, it gives ground for belief that there is something wrong with that Government's policy and point of view. The benefit derived from recognition should in itself be a sufficient inducement to forego all claims, even if the Government seeking recognition has suffered losses in its struggle for supremacy in its own country. When the power approached with the request for recognition has done exceptional service in saving starving millions from death and thus indirectly has helped the Government in question to ward off the danger of a hungry uprising with all the consequences of anarchy and depletion of the State Treasury, then even a veiled threat of a bill for damages done in the past assumes an ugly aspect and bares a sore spot on the body politic of the country whose Government thus acts. Yet this is exactly the case between Russia and the United States.

The message of President Coolidge prompted M. Tchitcherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to address a note to the President, announcing the complete readiness of the Soviet Government "to enter into negotiations with the American Government and to remove all misunderstandings and differences between the two countries." The note further states: "As to the question of claims mentioned in your message, the Soviet Government is fully prepared to negotiate with a view toward its satisfactory settlement on the assumption that the principle of reciprocity will be recognized all around." This note, when denuded of its diplomatic phraseology, means that the Soviet Government, in exchange for recognition and establishment of normal trade rela-

tions, is willing to assume responsibility for State obligations incurred by its predecessors in office and for private claims of American citizens, but under the condition that the Russian Government, on its own part, shall file claims against the American Government for losses sustained through the intervention of the American Expeditionary Force in Archangel and Siberia. That these claims will fully counterbalance American claims and possibly even exceed them, may be readily gathered from the frank discussion of counter-claims in which Tchitcherin indulged some time ago when considering a possible recognition of the Soviet Government by the French Republic.

This note was ignored by the Washington Government. On Dec. 11, however, Senator Borah offered a resolution that "The Senate looks with favor on the recognition of Soviet Russia." To this Secretary Hughes replied (Dec. 18), with a statement that Russia could not be recognized so long as the Russian Government supported movements in the United States to destroy our Government. He insisted that it would be time to consider diplomatic relations when the Soviet Government restored the American property seized in Russia during the last few years, and held herself responsible for the outstanding Russian bonds.

This rought about a public rejoinder from the Soviet to the effect that all propaganda of that kind came from the Communist Party, specifically, the Third International of Moscow, for which the Soviet Government asserted it was not responsible. Secretary Hughes retorted (Dec. 19) by publishing instructions issued by the Communist International in Russia to build up groups of ten among the workmen of the

United States, each of these units to have "their own fighting unit of not less than three men."

In proof of the connection between the Soviet and the Communist Party, Secretary Hughes published a newspaper article by Steklov, which emphasized that the two organizations were practically identical, and this agrees with the belief of most observers on the ground. Secretary Hughes was strongly supported by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts (Jan. 7), in a long speech insisting that the two Russian bodies were essentially the same; and that one of their objects was to destroy the Government of the United States.

It should be noted here that lavish expenditures for propaganda by the Third International, financed by the Soviet Government, have been subjected to severe criticism by the Soviet Finance Commissar Sakolnikov. It is reported that at a meeting of the Political Bureau it was resolved to instruct the Third International to refrain after Jan. 1 from subsidizing foreign Communist parties for propaganda purposes except in urgent cases and to obtain first the bureau's sanction. The report is of interest because of the close relationship between the Third International and the Soviet Government alluded to by Secretary Hughes in his answer to the note of Tchitcherin and denied by Soviet leaders and their supporters in America. From a formal point of view the assertion of the independence of the Soviet Government from the International is beyond question correct. The leaders in the Government, however, are also members, and leaders in the International and the expenses of the latter are largely defrayed by the Government. The International represents the credo and the policy of the Communist Party in international affairs, while the home policy of the Government is dictated by the exigencies of the moment.

Such an aggressive attitude cannot be justified, in view of the magnanimous attitude of our Congress, our Government and our people toward suffering Russia. Nor does it seem possible that the Soviet Government has forgotten the help it received when starving mobs were threateningly moving toward Moscow, swelling in numbers and gathering momentum as they progressed toward the capital. That some American interests may be willing to have the citizens of the United States pay for the exploitation by these interests of Russian resources may not be denied. But this does not show the strength of the Soviet régime. The truth is that the Soviet Government is facing a grave and growing financial and economic crisis and is making strenuous efforts to extricate itself from the difficulty by overtures as ambiguous as the home policy of its leaders.

It will be remembered that the rapid depreciation of the ruble forced the Soviet Government to

seek new ways for the stabilization of money. A new gold standard, the *tchervonetz*, was coined and paper notes issued, guaranteed by the gold reserve in the State Treasury. The reform had a temporary success and seemed to promise more permanent results. The Westminster Bank of London has now made a careful study of the problem, and has published its results in the December bulletin. According to this report the success of the new currency was "largely at the cost of imparting additional momentum to the downward course of the old Soviet ruble." The *tchervonetz* notes are not issued in low denominations, while the ruble is rapidly approaching the point where it will become useless even as small change. "It will be seen that under present conditions the issue of *tchervonetz* notes of small denominations would quickly render the Soviet ruble entirely valueless, while in any event, there is a serious danger that if the budget cannot be balanced, the continual issue of fresh rubles will soon lead to the same end. If the Soviet ruble disappears, the *tchervonetz* will remain as the sole currency in circulation, and if it is used to cover the budget deficit, it will inevitably follow the ruble in its downward course. A collapse of this nature would entail immeasurable disaster, and must, it is agreed, be avoided at all costs." Originally the *tchervonetz* notes had a gold cover of 50 per cent. Fresh note issues had the result that the *tchervonetz* depreciated, while "prices, even when reduced to gold values, have advanced since the new year."

This report confirms the opinion expressed by Sokolov in November at the conference of the Moscow Trade Bourse. According to him the Commissariat of Finance has been trying to cover the deficits of the State Treasury by three methods: "(1) By the sale abroad of old reserves of gold and confiscated valuables and jewels, and by the export of raw material of which Russian industry is so much in need; (2) by the issue first of Soviet currency notes and now of *tchervonetz* banknotes in excess of the limits stipulated by the first issue, and (3) by the floating of internal loans, which up to the present have yielded inconsiderable results." As Sokolov pointed out, the continuation of such a policy is impossible because the old stocks and reserves of gold, valuables and raw materials are being rapidly exhausted, while the issue of paper currency "not only will not help to cover deficits but will result in a still greater unsettlement of the financial and economic resources of the country."

Yet the immense budget of Russia, the greatest portion of which goes for the maintenance of the army, for the salaries of innumerable officials and for propaganda, must be met by a correspondingly great influx of gold into the State Treasury or else the deficit will grow and the dissatisfaction

with the Government will grow in proportion. The mining of gold and platinum and of other metals and ores is still far from the pre-war average. The sale of Crown jewels, a consignment of which has just been cleared through the office of the Appraiser of the Port of New York, will at best serve as a temporary relief. The export of grain from Russia, which, according to a statement of the Russian Trade Delegation in Berlin, amounted to 718,469 tons for the first ten months of the year 1923, will have to be reduced in 1924 owing to a shortage of crops. The Soviet Commissariat for Agriculture presented a report to the Council of People's Commissars in November, showing that the acreage under Winter crops has been greatly reduced compared with that of last year—in Siberia by 25 per cent., in Russia proper by 35 per cent. and in the Ukraine by 50 per cent. The number of peasant households which have not done any sowing in the Fall of 1923 amounted to 450,000 in Russia and 680,000 in the Ukraine. There is serious hunger in the northern and eastern provinces.

The economic situation is so bad, in fact, that the idea of appointing an Economic Dictator has been advanced by a Communist critic of the existing system. Business done by the "Gostorg" (State Trade Department) during eight months of 1923 has shrunk by 60 per cent., according to a communication of the Russian State Bank to the Finance Commissariat. Consequently "the granting of increased credits to the Gostorg and the co-operatives would be not only objectless, but actually injurious to the State Treasury."

The new economic policy inaugurated by Lenin was declared by him to be only a temporary policy, a retreat to strategic positions, necessitated by economic difficulties and in no way affecting or reflecting the political principles of the Government. Whether a return to communism will ever be possible may be doubted, but a complete renunciation of communistic principles by the Government is also out of question since that would spell its doom. Hence the propaganda of communism both at home and abroad; hence the ambiguity of purpose and duplicity of attitude in international affairs; hence the overtures for recognition in the hope of governmental foreign loans to fill the depleted Treasury and to ward off financial ruin, and hence, lastly, the claims for damages and the aggressive comments by Soviet leaders calculated to show strength to critics at home and to affirm unwavering adherence to Communist principles. Only in this light can Steklov's latest remark in the *Izvestiya* be understood: "Sooner or later Mr. Hughes will have to agree to negotiate on a mutual basis, and will seriously have to take into consideration our counter-claims for America's intervening in our internal affairs."

The problem of recognition was for reasons stated above the most important one to the Russian Government. Tchitcherin has been successful in inducing the Polish Government to recognize the Soviet Republic. He is making further efforts in the same direction with Italy, Greece and France. The same question was raised in pourparlers with the Rumanian delegation, but the latter had to postpone negotiations until it received new instructions from the Rumanian Government.

In line with the same policy of self-preservation is the Soviet Government's activity in strengthening the fighting capacity of the Red Army. The Soviet forces number at present: Infantry, 300,000; cavalry, 60,000; artillery, 75,000; marines, 35,000; guards, 50,000; foreign troops, 70,000, and irregular formations, 150,000. Large orders for airplanes of the Fokker type have been placed by the Government, and Trotsky and other leaders have been for some time engaged in active propaganda in favor of an efficient air fleet. It is reported that 500 planes of a civilian type have been ordered from Holland and destined for passenger and mail service. It seems to be true, however, that the type of planes ordered is the same as the one built by Holland for military purposes.

But though the Soviet Government is facing grave financial and economic troubles, any hopes or reports of its collapse in the near future are decidedly premature. Such hopes are based chiefly on a misinterpretation of the attitude of the mass of the Russian people. That they are suffering under the present rule is true, as it is equally true that the vast majority are against communism and that grave dissatisfaction exists even in the ranks of the Communists themselves. But from a feeling of dissatisfaction and general suffering there is still a long step to active protest backed by force. Moreover, it may be reasonably doubted that the peasants would prefer the restoration of the monarchy to a Soviet régime. It should not be forgotten that the peasants, who represent the bulk of the population, have gained possession of the land, which was always their aspiration, and that they have no means of knowing that their possession will be confirmed by a new régime. Reports of a plan for a peaceful conquest of Russia attributed to the Grand Duke Nicholas, if true, show the attitude only of a certain group of Russian emigrants, and the plan itself, far from helping the Russian people, may be expected merely to strengthen the Soviet Government, which is quick to use all reports of plots hatched by Russians in foreign countries to its own advantage, as an example of the menace to the achievements of the revolution and as a proof of the wisdom of the Government's own policy.

## TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

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## TURKEY.

THE Aga Khan and his friend Amir Ali created no little excitement at Angora and Constantinople by sending from London (Nov. 24), to Ismet Pasha, the Turkish Premier, a letter referring to the Caliph's position. A few days later they sent copies of the letter to the Turkish press in Constantinople and on Dec. 13 they gave a copy to The London Times.

The gist of the joint letter is contained in the assertion that "any diminution in the prestige of the Caliph or the elimination of the Caliphate as a religious factor from the Turkish body politic would mean the disintegration of Islam and its practical disappearance as a moral force in the world," and that "the Caliph's position and dignity should not in any event be less than that of the Pontiff of the Church of Rome." The implied practical suggestion is that the chiefs of the Turkish State ought, as in olden times, when temporal and spiritual authority were separated in Islam, to seek and obtain investiture from the Caliph in order to validate their title to rule.

After the letter had been published in the Constantinople papers a secret session of the Grand National Assembly was held at Angora, under call of Ismet Pasha, and a "Tribunal of Independence," composed of four members, was created, clothed with all authority short of executing the death penalty. This body was ordered to proceed at once to Constantinople and investigate all suspicious activities. The Tribunal ordered by telegraph the arrest of the editors of the three leading opposition newspapers, the Tanin, the Tevhid and the Ikdam. These men were promptly tried for treason before the new tribunal and, to the surprise of many, acquitted. Lutfi Fikri Bey, President of the Turkish Bar, was also tried.

Meantime the Government press of Constantinople had charged that the Aga Khan and the Amir Ali were tools of British policy, and that their supporters in Turkey were conspiring to overthrow the Angora Government in favor of a more conservative form. The Aga Khan was described as merely the head of a small sect, most of whose adherents are in the Kenya colony in Africa, and was taxed with presumption for speaking in the name of all Islam. The Aga Khan answered with spirit and dignity in a letter to The London Times published on Dec. 17.

He denied all British influence, and affirmed his strong interest in "the development of the sovereignty and independence of Moslem nations,

including not only Turkey, but Persia and Afghanistan." He denied any relationship with Turkish parties or individuals hostile to the Angora Government. He affirmed his support of the Republican form of government for Turkey as in harmony with early Moslem society. Furthermore, "like the overwhelming majority of the Moslems of the world, I hold that the honor of providing the occupant of the throne of the Caliph should, in Islamic interests generally, be a privilege of the Turkish nation; and, further, that it should be retained in the family which has held it for so many centuries." He then repeated his contention that "the Caliph should enjoy in Turkey, and should receive from all Moslem States headed by that nation, at least general homage and veneration equal to that which Catholic States voluntarily offer to the Pope."

The Aga Khan, third of that name, is grandson of a Persian dignitary who took refuge at Bombay a century ago; recognized as chief of the Shiite Moslems of the Ismailian sect, he became a loyal supporter of British rule and a moderating force in India and the Moslem world. Aga Khan III., having received a combined Oriental and Western education, has continued the family tradition. During the World War he served England beyond the possibility of sufficient reward by persuading the Moslems of the empire, Sunnite as well as Shiite, to remain loyal. After the armistice he strove to mitigate the treatment of Turkey by the victors, but with small success. Amir Ali is likewise an Indian Moslem of combined Eastern and Western education. He served many years as a Judge in India, and has written several books in English, in which he has sought to place the Prophet Mohammed and the Moslem civilization in a more favorable light before the Western world.

The serious illness of President Mustapha Kemal has led to speculation as to a possible successor in case of his death. The ability of either Ismet Pasha or Raouf Bey to control the situation is questioned, and the bizarre suggestion has been made that the President's young wife, Latifeh Hanum, might become Chief Magistrate. The agitation described above may further the movement toward an all-Mohammedan Congress, to consider the Caliphate especially, at which not only the present Caliph, Abdul Mejid II., would be a candidate, but also Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, and the Aga Khan himself. Mustapha Kemal received a telegram from the central committee of the Indian organization for the defense of the Caliphate, saying that the committee con-

siders the proclamation of a Turkish Republic to be a great step forward for the development of Islam, and that any communication appearing to express disapproval of this step must not be considered as reflecting the opinion of Indian Moslems.

The prohibition laws continue to be enforced with severity in Constantinople. Foreign residents of the former Turkish capital affirm that this action is aimed only at the Greeks, who formerly kept practically all the bars in the city, and predict that the embargo will be lifted later in the interests of revenue. Such a change is unlikely, since Old Turks oppose the use of alcoholic beverages on religious grounds, while Nationalists oppose a business which is essentially foreign. At the same time the Turkish Government is pressing hard to collect all possible taxes, especially from foreigners. Luxuries, the definition of which is very inclusive, are visited with heavy import duties. Business is hampered by stringent closing laws for Fridays. The pessimistic statement is frequently heard that Angora is trying to kill Constantinople.

The resumption of work at American missionary schools and hospitals, except at Constantinople and Smyrna, has met with serious difficulties. The American hospital at Aintab, together with the missionary schools at Marzanan, Mardin and Forash, recently closed by the Turkish authorities, will be reopened, Rear Admiral Bristol announced at Constantinople on Jan. 10.

Licenses of physicians and dentists are not recognized unless granted before 1914, and no new licenses are being granted.

The Commissioner of Public Works at Angora notified Mr. Clayton Kennedy's agent on Dec. 18 of the annulment of the "Chester Concessions." On the same day Horace G. Knowles, counsel for the Ottoman-American Development Company, announced in New York that a syndicate of London banking houses, with a capital of £5,000,000, had been formed to develop part of the concessions. Henry Woodhouse denied the right of the Turkish Government to cancel more than one of the fifteen principal concessions.

#### EGYPT

**H**OWARD CARTER and his assistants, in the presence of a small group of archaeologists, on Jan. 3 opened the doors of the three blue and gold inner shrines of the tomb of Tutankh-Amen and revealed the magnificently sculptured sarcophagus of the Pharaoh. It is of rose-colored crystalline sandstone, and had evidently been untouched since the tomb was originally closed. The doors were closed again and the workers set to dismantling the shrines in preparation for their removal, after which it will be possible to lift the heavy lid of the sarcophagus.

A Government order has made Arabic the sole language of correspondence in the business of the Egyptian railways. The British general manager, Brigadier General R. B. D. Blakeney, has retired. The authority of his office, it was stated, had been greatly reduced by encroachments from the Ministry of Communications.

Quarters for the new Egyptian Legation have been taken in the New Willard Hotel at Washington. Seifoullah Yousri Pasha arrived at New York on Jan. 10, en route to Washington to take up his duties as first Egyptian Minister to the United States.

#### PALESTINE AND TRANSJORDANIA

**D**R. ARTHUR RUPPIN, addressing the first meeting of the new National Council of the Palestine Foundation Fund, recommended the creation in the Holy Land of a self-supporting Jewish peasantry of small independent cultivators and groups of agricultural settlers on a co-operative basis, and the development of handicrafts to meet the needs of the agricultural population. He stated that the Jews of the world have spent about \$30,000,000 in Palestine since the British occupation, and asked for an additional \$7,000,000 per year, in order to settle about 6,000 Jewish families annually.

The Government of Palestine, on Jan. 10, announced the acceptance of a bequest of £100,000 made by the Jewish capitalist, Ellis Kadoorie, who stipulated in his will that the money should be used for cultural purposes.

#### PERSIA

**T**HE announcement was made on Dec. 26 that a concession for oil exploitation in four of the five northern provinces of Persia had been granted to the Sinclair group. The Standard Oil Company appears to have lost the concession because at the outset it was in association with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and the Persian people are opposed to admitting British influence in the north as well as the south of their country. The award is not completed, since a loan of \$10,000,000 must be found in America for the Persian Government, and the Persian Parliament must ratify the entire agreement. It was at the same time announced that the oil concession for the fifth northern province is reserved for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

#### IRAQ

**J**AFAR PASHA EL ASKARI, the new Prime Minister, formed (Dec. 1) the following Cabinet:

ALI JAUDAT BEG—Interior.  
HAJI MUSIN ASH SHALLASH—Finance.  
SAIYID AHMAD AL FAKHRI—Justice.  
SHEIK SALIH BASHAYAN—Religion.  
NURI PASHA SAID—Defense.

**SHEIK MOHAMED HASSAN ABU'L MUHASIN—  
Education.**

All but two members of the Cabinet are new to ministerial duties. The Minister of Education is a poet of the Shiite faith from Kerbela.

Jafar Pasha announced a program, strongly Nationalist, yet enlightened, promising among other things to work for a strong northern frontier; to establish friendly relations with neighboring States, especially Arabia; to complete the elections and submit the Anglo-Iraq treaty and the Draft Constitution to the Assembly; to strengthen the army, encourage agriculture, commerce, industry and the investment of foreign capital, and to foster education and send students to foreign universities.

British forces which advanced during the past Summer to the north in Kurdistan are now in possession of Rowanduz. Sheik Mahmud claims independence for a small Kurdish area around Suleimanieh. The Turks have retired northward. The Kurds are divided between Iraq and Turkey, and their hope of independence awaits a day of superior communications and better education.

**AFGHANISTAN AND TURKESTAN**

**S**TRAINED relations developed in December between the British Indian and Afghan Governments as a result of a series of murders of Englishmen and Englishwomen by marauders who found refuge in Afghan territory, and of consequent strong representations to Afghanistan by Britain that the culprits should be caught and punished. A shipment of arms and ammunition from France to Afghanistan was held up by the British at Bombay. British and American women were taken from Kabul on Dec. 11. Afghan troops were sent to the neighborhood of Jalalabad, to capture the marauders.

During the past sixteen years Afghanistan, starting from a very backward condition, has been making progress in the direction of westernization by building roads, improving agricultural methods, encouraging trade, advancing education, reforming administration and training soldiers.

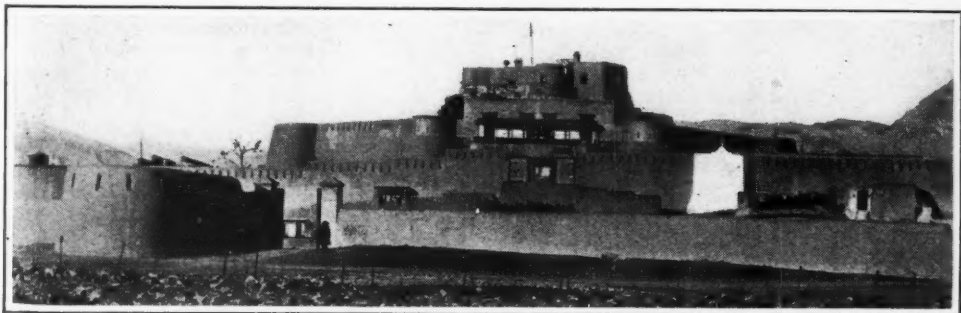
The spirit of nationalism has developed rapidly among the upper groups. The Afghans after the "war" with Great Britain in 1919 opened diplomatic communications with Russia, Turkey, Persia, China, France and Italy, and took other measures to assert their independence of foreign control. The treaty concluded with Great Britain in 1921 recognized a certain responsibility of the Afghan Government as regards border tribes, over whom, nevertheless, the British Government retained a measure of control. The conspicuous lack of co-operation with Great Britain seems to have been due to resentment of supposed British assumption of superiority and to fears that the British are planning encroachments on Afghan sovereignty.

During recent months the Afghan Government has been endeavoring to strengthen its army by requiring military service from one man in eight. Resistance amounting almost to rebellion has developed in some quarters, notably in Kandahar.

The present crisis has led to some small international reactions. Moscow reported on Dec. 20 that the British had sent an ultimatum to Kabul, demanding not only the suppression of the brigands, but also the breaking of diplomatic relations with Moscow. This rumor, promptly and emphatically denied at London, reappeared early in January in Rangoon.

Talk of British military action led the French Government to request from Lord Curzon the safeguarding of the lives and property of French citizens in Afghanistan, and revealed in Paris a feeling of sympathy for the Afghans as against the British, similar to that felt two years ago for the Nationalist Turks. In this case, however, French arms have no means of reaching Afghanistan against the will of the British.

Troubled conditions in Russian Turkestan were reported in messages from Riga and Helsingfors, but in somewhat contradictory fashion. Famine conditions prevail in some areas, due to bad harvests and interrupted communications. Communist agents are said to be working to revise the land system, and to be meeting with violent resistance in Bokhara and Ferghana.



One of the forts on the Northwest Frontier of India

## THE FAR EAST

By PAYSON J. TREAT

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## CHINA

THE news from China continues to be almost uniformly depressing. As an American correspondent in Peking recently wrote, "if China is to continue to exist as a nation she must face the two fundamental problems of keeping the peace, so that trade, industry and farming can go on, and of straightening out her finances, so that she cannot only live within her own resources but also make some show of meeting her obligations." Reports from the various provinces tell of civil war in Kwangtung, Hunan, Szechuan and Fukien, of foreign gunboats protecting the interests of their nationals at several ports, and of American marines guarding American steamers on the upper Yangtze. Banditry in many provinces exists on a larger scale than ever before. Poppy cultivation, it is reported, is openly encouraged by military commanders, and the opium trade at certain points is protected as a source of revenue for military chests. Towns have been looted by troops supposed to protect them. Officials have been unpaid for months, and schools have been closed because teachers demanded even a part of their salaries. The unwieldy Parliament in Peking has transacted no business for two months because little more than a quorum is present (other members remain at Shanghai and Tientsin) and a small group of recalcitrants can absent themselves and block all business. Several provinces refuse to remit any share of their revenues to the central Treasury, while other provinces, such as Manchuria, Chehkiang, Szechuan, Yunnan and the Far South refuse to recognize the Peking Government at all. The Chinese people are suffering countless hardships because of the breakdown of law and order in large portions of the republic.

Foreigners are suffering, too, in this state of affairs. The Rev. Mr. E. W. Schmalzreid, the American missionary who was seized by bandits in November, was released on Dec. 20. On Dec. 30 three Americans were among the victims of a bandit raid on Tsaoyane Hupeh. Mr. and Mrs. Bernhard Hoff were wounded and Mrs. Julian Klein was taken captive. Mr. Hoff died on Jan. 13. On Dec. 27, the British steamer *Hydrangea*, en route from Hongkong to Swatow, was seized by pirates disguised as passengers, who looted the ship and the belongings of the passengers, ran the ship aground, and escaped.

On the other hand, reports of conditions in Shansi, the "model province," in Chehkiang, in Yunnan and along the railway zone in Man-

churia, give encouraging indications of what may be expected when a strong hand restores order. Unofficial efforts to carry on educational progress in the face of official remissness are also encouraging. In Anhui and Kiangsu provinces great interest has been shown in certain quarters in efforts to reduce the appalling illiteracy of the people. One scheme, known as the "Get One" plan, would have every literate person set about teaching the essential characters to the illiterate. Another plan would have each family or each industrial group designate one member for instruction, who in turn would help the others. Progress is also reported in the fight to put an end to the practice of binding the feet of girl babies.

Although the recently promulgated Constitution provides for a directly elected Cabinet in each province, with a Chairman chosen by its members, there is no indication that the military commanders who are acting as Civil or Military Governors, or both combined, will be relieved of their offices. In November three Generals were promoted to the rank of High Military Inspecting Commissioner of the eight provinces controlled by the Chihli Party. Marshal Wu Pei-fu was placed in control of Chihli, Shantung and Honan; Marshal Chi Shieh-yuan, of Kiangsu, Anhui and Kiansi, and Marshal Hsiao Yao-nan of Hunan and Hupeh. It was later reported that Marshal Lu Yung-hsiang, Governor of Chehkiang, was offered the post of High Military Inspecting Commissioner of both Chehkiang and Fukien if he would pledge allegiance to Peking.

The Soviet Government in July, 1919, announced that it was ready to enter into negotiations with China for the cancellation of the treaties of 1896 and 1901 and all agreements concluded with Japan from 1907 to 1918—"that is to say, to give back to the Chinese people all the power and authority which were obtained by the Government of the Czar by tricks or by entering into understandings with Japan and the Allies." The Soviet Government also offered to return the Chinese Eastern Railway, without compensation, as well as all mining and forestry concessions formerly secured. Subsequently, on the ground that China did not accept this offer, the Soviet Government endeavored to secure control of the Chinese Eastern Railway (in Northern Manchuria), and it is reported that its representative has demanded a resumption of the payments to Russia due under the Boxer Protocol of 1901.

Although Dr. Sun Yat-sen has announced his intention of seizing the customs surplus at Can-

ton, no action has been reported. He has protested against the support given by American and British warships to the customs authorities, who, he asserts, turn over their receipts for the use of the Peking Government against Kwangtung.

In reply to the protest of the foreign representatives, Dr. V. Wellington Koo, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Peking, reiterated the decision of his Government to pay the French instalment of the Boxer indemnity in paper francs, not in gold francs, as demanded by France.

#### JAPAN

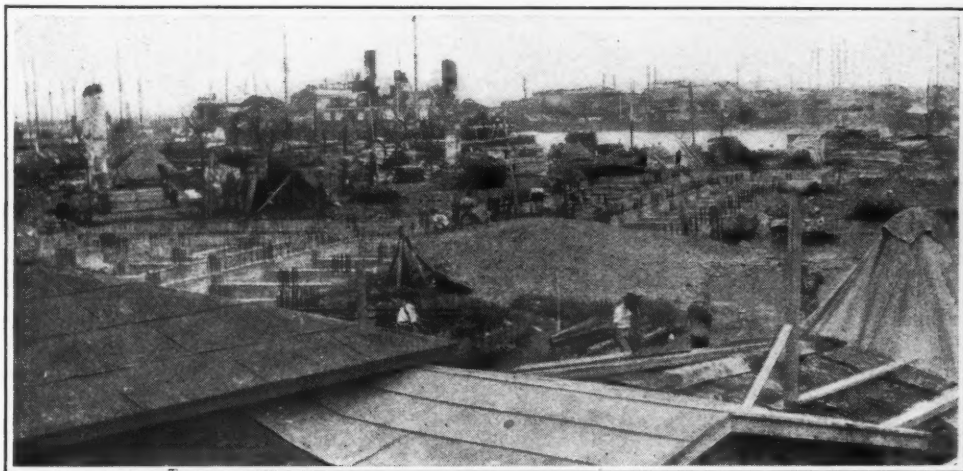
THE political situation in Japan has changed surprisingly and for an unprecedented reason during the past month. The Imperial Diet met in special session on Dec. 10 to consider financial measures necessitated by the earthquake disaster. The Yamamoto Ministry had apparently made preparations to meet the opposition of the Seiyukai Party, which controlled the lower house, for it had previously dismissed thirteen Prefectural Governors belonging to that party. The Seiyukai Party accepted the challenge and proceeded to reduce the reconstruction appropriation by 100,000,000 yen, which was finally accepted by the Cabinet.

One of the first acts of the special session was the passage of a resolution in both houses expressing thanks to foreign powers for their sympathy and help after the earthquake. In his statement to the Diet the Minister of Finance, Mr. Inouye, estimated the damage caused by the disaster at between seven and ten billion yen. In reply to numerous interpellations the Government stated that it had already approached the American Government in regard to the rights of Japanese in the United States. A break in

the Cabinet came on Dec. 23, when Baron Den, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, resigned because of the failure of the Diet to pass an insurance bill which he had advocated.

Immediately after the close of the special session the regular session was convened on Dec. 27. As Prince Regent Hirohito was on his way to the Diet to deliver the speech from the throne an attempt upon his life was made by Daisuke Namba, a young man 27 years old, formerly a student at Waseda University. The bullet crashed through the window of the automobile but missed its mark. Prince Hirohito proceeded to the chamber of the House of Peers, where the members of both houses were assembled, and read his speech as though nothing had happened. It was not until after the ceremony that the members of the Diet knew of the attempted assassination.

Namba, who, although the son of a minor politician, had lately been employed as a laborer, assumed full responsibility for his act, which he hoped would lead to social revolution. Intense indignation was manifested in Tokio and throughout Japan. Such an attack upon the imperial house is unprecedented in modern times. The Cabinet at once met in conference and decided to present its resignation as a whole to the Prince Regent. At first it was believed that after the Prince Regent had refused to accept the resignation of the entire Ministry, as he promptly did, the Cabinet would feel free to resume its functions. Instead, however, the resignation was again presented (Dec. 29) and this time it was accepted. The life of the Ministry was precarious before the event, because of the strong opposition of the Seiyukai Party. Had it tried to carry on it would have been the object of bitter criticism in the Diet and the press because of its alleged



A glimpse of the work of reconstruction in Tokio

responsibility for a state of affairs which had resulted in an attempt to assassinate the popular Prince Regent.

Once more the advisers of the Regent refused to favor a party Cabinet and recommended that Viscount Kiego Kiyoura be summoned to form a Ministry. This was done on Jan. 1, but Viscount Kiyoura was unable to enlist sufficient support in the Diet to form a Cabinet until Jan. 4. The new Premier is a bureaucrat rather than a politician. After long service in minor Government offices he became Minister of Home Affairs in 1898, serving until 1900, and again from 1901 to 1903. Transferred to the post of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, he served until 1906. Recently he has been President of the Privy Council. For some years he was a faithful lieutenant of the late Prince Yamagata, most influential of the Elder Statesmen. He is now 73 years old. It is doubtful if he will be able to form a Ministry which can function for any considerable period, while the fact that he has been summoned indicates a lack of confidence in political leaders at this critical period in Japanese affairs.

Tentative measures have been taken to bring about a union of the political parties opposed to the Seiyukai. This would include the Kenseikai Party, whose leader is Viscount Kato, and the Kakushin Club, led by Mr. Inukai, as well as the Doshin Club in the House of Peers. A common formula was found in support of a manhood

suffrage law which the Seiyukai Party has opposed in the past.

Another attempt, equally unsuccessful, on the lives of the imperial family was made on Jan. 5, when an individual described by the police as a Korean threw three bombs at the imperial palace in Tokio. The bombs, which fell in the open space about the palace, failed to explode. None of the imperial family was in the palace at the time. The bomb-thrower was arrested.

The judicial investigation of outrages perpetrated after the earthquake has resulted in the conviction of 105 defendants at Urawa, Saitama Prefecture. These were charged with the murder of Koreans in five different localities. Thirty-two were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from one to three years and seventy-three received suspended sentences. The prosecution of other ringleaders is proceeding. A commission appointed by the Chinese Government has been investigating the treatment of Chinese during the disaster.

Plans for the reconstruction of Tokio and Yokohama, less elaborate than those originally considered, await the approval of the Diet at the regular session.

A book containing the signatures of 500,000 persons expressing their thanks for the assistance rendered Japan was presented to the American Embassy on Dec. 27.

A severe earthquake occurred at Tokio on Jan. 15.



# ARMIES AND NAVIES OF THE WORLD

By GRASER SCHORNSTHEIMER

[CHIEF EVENTS OF THE MONTH ENDED JAN. 15, 1924]

**THE United States**—The Pacific squadron, or battle fleet, has arrived off Panama to take part in the usual Winter manoeuvres. These will include an attack on the Atlantic entrance to the Panama Canal. Through these manoeuvres it is hoped that any flaws in the system of defense of the canal will be brought out. The army and part of the fleet will defend the canal, while a second naval force, together with a large marine force, will attack. After these manoeuvres the general tactical training will take place. The Navy Department has inaugurated a policy of showing the country what the navy does, and the newspapers have been invited to send representatives to Panama for the tactical manoeuvres. More than 150 owners and editors from the inland States have accepted.

Vessels of the special service squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral J. H. Dayton, are conducting an active patrol along the Atlantic coasts of Honduras and Mexico because of the revolutions in these countries.

The army is to receive twenty of the great 16-inch, 50 calibre guns, originally intended for the dreadnoughts of the North Carolina class, which have been turned over to the army and will be mounted in the coast forts. The ships for which the guns were originally intended are being

scrapped on the stocks, as provided by the naval treaty. Twenty 12-inch, 45 calibre, and forty-eight 8-inch, 45 calibre guns, from the older battleships are also being turned over to the army.

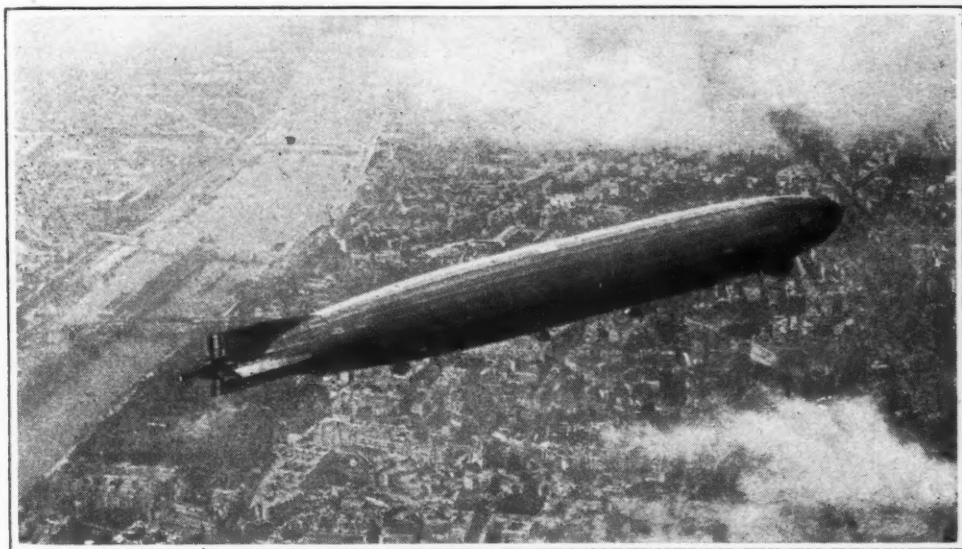
**THE British Empire**—The British mine-laying submarine L-24 went to the bottom off Portland on Jan. 10 as the result of a collision with the battleship *Resolution*. The submarine's complement of forty-three officers and men has been given up as lost.

The Australian cruiser *Adelaide* joined the British world cruising squadron off Cape Town, South Africa. The *Adelaide* will complete the cruise, returning to England with the fleet.

The new submarine, L-54, has been commissioned at the Devonport dockyard.

Sir Eustace T. d'Eyncourt, Director of Naval Construction, retired in December. He designed the finest modern ships in the British Navy. His successor is W. J. Berry of the construction corps.

Reports concerning the abandonment of Singapore appear premature. British military publications point out that should Parliament refuse to provide sufficient funds for continuing the work on the base, the Dominions stand ready to continue the construction.



The great French dirigible *Dixmude* (formerly the German *Bodensee*) which was lost during a flight across the Mediterranean. This photograph was taken when the airship was previously flying over Paris

**THE Japanese Empire**—The Japanese naval estimate for the current year of Y238,500,000 have been announced; Y112,200,000 will be appropriated as extraordinary expenditure, for general increases to the existing establishment, such as new ships. The rest of the money will be voted as ordinary expenditure, for the maintenance of the existing establishment.

The first estimates called for an appropriation of Y278,000,000, but after conferences with the Ministry of Finance Y39,500,000 was removed. However, it is announced, not a single ship of the program will be given up this year, despite the disaster. The dates of completion of the ships at present under construction and to be laid down under the new bill are to be extended approximately one year. Various naval stations are to be reduced, and the complements of all yards are to be cut down.

The battleships of the Fuso class are to be modernized. It is proposed to give them bulge protection against torpedo attack and to furnish them with 4.7 inch anti-aircraft guns.

The final 7,500-ton cruiser yet to be laid down is to be named Aotaka. The cruiser Jintsuu was launched Dec. 8 at the Kwasaki works at Kobe.

The inquiry on the loss of the submarine 70 revealed that careless handling was responsible for the disaster rather than any material fault. Nevertheless, the Government has ordered that especial care be taken in the construction of the submarines 71, 72 and 73, sister ships to the 70.

Rear Admirals Kenzo Kobayashi, Shinisaburo Yoshikawa, Shozo Kuwashima, Hidetaro Kanada, Eisaburo Fujiwara and Yasuhei Yoshikawa have been promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral. Engineer Rear Admirals Suyeki Iwabe, Keijiro Masui and Teigo Okazaki have been promoted to the rank of Engineer Vice Admiral. Surgeon Rear Admirals Ikuzo Yoshikawa and Isamu Hirano have been promoted to Surgeon Vice Admirals. Paymaster Rear Admirals Sadakichi Fukamizu and Ko Hisano have been made Paymaster Vice Admirals. Constructor Rear Admiral Suyeo Nonake has been made Constructor Vice Admiral. Admirals Tochinai, Oguri Nakano, Yoshioka and Iida have been placed on the "waiting list."

Newspaper reports concerning the composition of the new Cabinet give the name of Vice Admiral H. Suzuki as the new Minister of the Navy, replacing Admiral Hyo Takarabe.

**FRANCE**—The naval dirigible balloon Dixmude was lost at sea during the holidays. Formerly the German Zeppelin Bodensee, she was 130 meters long, with a beam of 18.7 meters, had a capacity of 22,000 cubic meters of hydrogen, making her the largest Zeppelin in the world. Deflated, her weight was 13.7 tons. Her lift was 23 tons, including 2.4 tons of fuel, 1.52 tons for the crew, one ton for water ballast and

an available cargo weight of 4.8 tons. The maximum speed was 130 knots at full power; 94 knots at half power. She normally operated from the air station at Cuers. It is supposed that carbon sparks from the motors ignited the hydrogen gas in the great envelope and an explosion followed. The wreck of the airship was found off the West coast of Sicily, not far from the place where the body of Lieutenant du Plessis de Grenadan, her commander, was found. The Dixmude held the world's record for endurance flying of 120 hours. It was intended that she should go to Africa and make an attempt to better this performance.

According to advices from Paris, the post-war naval strategy of France has been revised. The present plan calls for the concentration of the battle forces in the Mediterranean, and the allocation of submarine and light forces to the Atlantic bases, with cruisers on distant stations. This would indicate that the battle forces are concentrated for the purpose of keeping open the communications with Africa, rather than for the purpose of gaining any impossible sea victories against overwhelming forces. The allocation of submarines to the Atlantic and cruisers to distant waters would seem to indicate France's intention to war upon the commerce of her opponents.

Reports of a sea alliance between France and Yugoslavia are also making the rounds of the apprehensive capitals of Europe. Yugoslavia has no navy, to be sure, apart from a few very small steamers, but reports have it that she is to have ships built in French yards, and that Yugoslav officers are studying in French naval schools. This report seems to have its basis in the common resentment of France and Yugoslavia at Italy's predominance in the Adriatic.

**Spain and Italy**—Despite the repeated denials of the Italian Government that a naval alliance exists between Italy and Spain, reports to this effect continue to appear in the newspapers. None of these reports have as yet mentioned their sources of information, but they all agree in general outline. Spain, it is said, plans to build one 8,000-ton cruiser, four 1,000-ton destroyers and four submarines in Italy. A proposal to establish a modern naval base in the Balearic Islands, and to modernize all the Spanish home bases is mentioned. Italy's intention of modernizing her present fleet and of proceeding with a large naval program is also cited as evidence of the consummation of an agreement.

**Greece**—According to a recent article in *The Naval and Military Record*, by Hector Bywater, Greece intends to complete the battleship *Salamis*. This would seem to be an answer to the retention of the *Goeben* by Turkey. Of

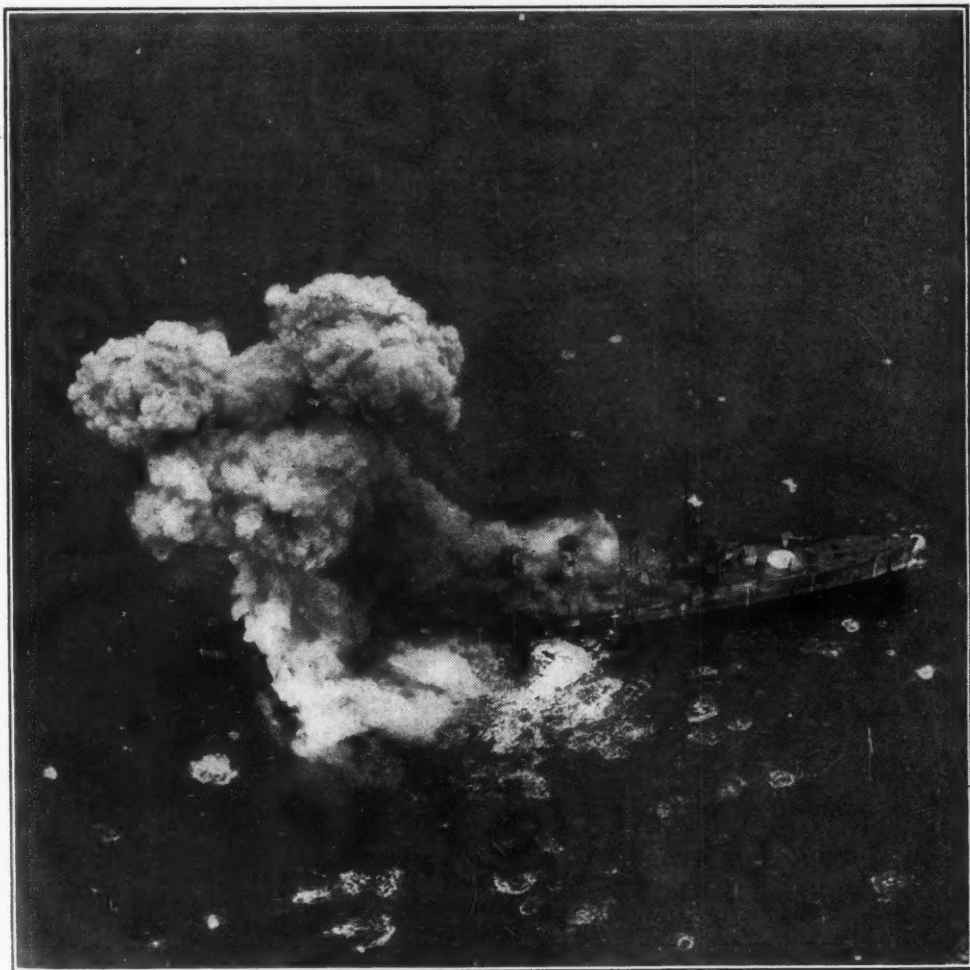
all the warships afloat the *Salamis* has probably the most interesting history. She was laid down July 23, 1913, at the German Vulkan yards at Stettin. Then came the war preventing the possibility of her delivery for some time. The German Government informed Greece that the vessel would be delivered in good condition at the close of the war.

The *Salamis* was launched in 1915 and towed to Kiel by the Germans, where she was used as a floating barracks until the close of the war. Shortly after the signing of the Versailles Treaty, a Greek commission went to Germany and canceled the contract of the Vulkan Company. At that time the vessel was unnecessary to Greece. Then came the disastrous campaign in Asia Minor and the retention of the Turkish fleet.

Though the vessel then became desirable to Greece, it was impossible for the Germans to complete her, as the peace terms forbid them building big guns and armor. According to Mr. Bywater, it has been arranged that the *Salamis* be completed at a French dockyard.

As designed the *Salamis* was to have been a vessel of 19,500 tons displacement, 570 feet long with a beam of 82 feet and a draught of 26 feet. The engines were to have been Curtiss A. G. turbines, generating 40,000 horsepower, which should have given the vessel a speed of about 25 knots. The main battery was to have been eight 14-inch 45 calibre American guns, supplemented by twelve 6-inch and 3-inch guns.

The demand for the *Salamis* is explained by articles in the Greek press calling for naval



The report that the former German warships sunk at Scapa Flow are to be raised and salvaged by the British recalls the sinking of the former German dreadnought *Ostfriesland* off the Virginia Capes on July 21, 1921, when a bomb weighing 2,000 pounds was exploded alongside the vessel, as shown in this photograph

strength as a result of the Corfu affair. The Greek Government evidently intends to modernize the navy thoroughly. Four large destroyers are to go to the Cowes yard of Samuel White Co. to be reboilered and generally refitted. The intention of the Greek Government to build additional destroyers and submarines is also reported.

**R**ussia—Plans for a Baltic Navy appear each month, but at present there is a proposal before the Soviet Government that seems to trouble the smaller northern countries. Six new capital ships, eight cruisers, twenty-four destroyers and thirty submarines are asked for. A nucleus for this force already exists and the proposal for new ships is reinforced by a plan to increase the naval personnel to 16,000 men, practically doubling the present forces.

Few ships of the old Imperial Navy remain in

Soviet hands. The battleship Gangut went aground in the Neva, the guns were removed and the hull sold for scrap. The battleship Poltova was ruined by fire some time ago. Her guns, too, were removed and used to replace those of the battleship Paris Kommune. The hull was also sold as scrap. The cruisers Makaroff, Bayan, Gromoboi and Rossiya were sold to Germany and scrapped.

A proposal to complete a cruiser of the Svetlana class and to send it around the world on a propaganda cruise has been approved by the Soviet Government. It is reported that construction has been resumed on the ship at Petrograd and that the ship may be ready to go to sea by next Summer. The itinerary is said to include Copenhagen, Marlskorna, Danzig, Southampton, Cherbourg, Bilbao, Lisbon, New York and other cities.

## DEATH OF PERSONS OF PROMINENCE

LAWRENCE B. SPERRY, American pioneer aviator and inventor, in the English Channel, off Sussex, Dec. 13, aged 29.

The Rev. Dr. JOHN HENRY JOWETT, noted Presbyterian clergyman, at Gables Belmont, near Croydon, England, Dec. 19, aged 59.

FRANK IRVING COBB, editor, at New York, Dec. 21, aged 54.

ALEXANDRE GUSTAVE EIFFEL, builder of the Eiffel Tower, at Paris, Dec. 28, aged 91.

GENERAL E. A. L. BUAT, Chief of the General Staff of the French Army, at Paris, Dec. 30, aged 68.

The Rev. SABINE BARING-GOULD, clergyman, novelist, historian and poet, in Devonshire, England, Jan. 2, aged 89. He wrote the words of "Onward, Christian Soldiers."

Dr. H. J. HAMBURGER, physiologist, who in 1883 applied the methods of physical chemistry in medicine, at Groningen, Holland, Jan. 5, aged 64.

Professor BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE, Greek scholar, at Baltimore, Jan. 9, aged 92. Professor Gildersleeve, who fought for the South in the Civil War, organized the Department of Greek at Johns Hopkins University, making it a model for other American universities.



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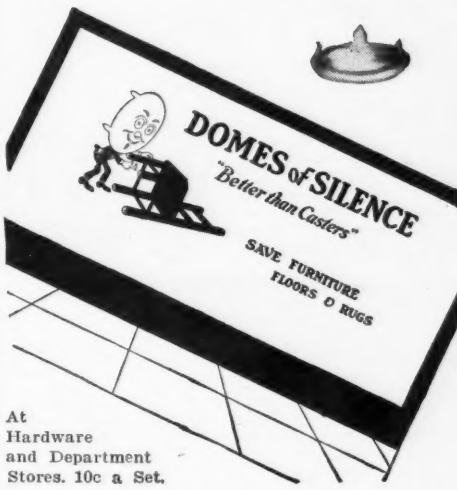
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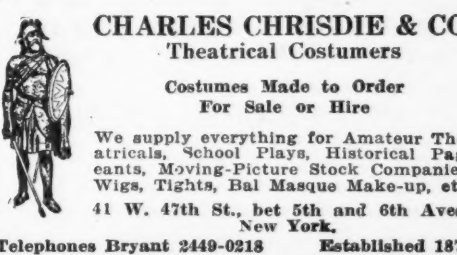
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## CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLES

*The Editors of THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE do not assume responsibility for the return of manuscripts.*

\* \* \*

The Chinese Constitution which was printed in January issue of CURRENT HISTORY was translated from the original text especially for the magazine and was the first publication in English anywhere.

\* \* \*

### Current History Warmly Commended.

[From the Buffalo (N. Y.) Evening News, Dec. 23, 1923.]

THE new policy of CURRENT HISTORY, the popular monthly review published by The New York Times Company, renders the magazine truer to its name than ever before. Twelve American professors, with Albert B. Hart of Harvard as Chairman, have been assigned each a portion of the civilized world upon which to report the month's progress. The reports are vividly written, far different in fact from the stilted "special report" which professors generally require of their students. They present national romance in serial form. They reveal, when one reads between the lines, the seeds of new wars and offer an opportunity to avert such disasters. The reports on Turkey by Professor Lybyer of the University of Illinois, and on Russia by Professor Petrunkevitch of Yale, are of unusual importance. The former ought to be read by every one who has a lingering doubt about the dangerous character of commercial concessions with a country like Turkey and of business agreements with friendly rivals who are British subjects. These reports, however, do not prevent CURRENT HISTORY, from featuring articles of special interest as it formerly has done. \* \* \* A review such as CURRENT HISTORY carefully read and pondered each month should lead to just the kind of pressure of opinion to which our legislators need to be subjected.

\* \* \*

The portrait in January CURRENT HISTORY, erroneously attributed to Baron Ijuin, the new Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, was a picture of the late Baron G. Ijuin, Admiral of the fleet in the Japanese Navy, who died three years ago.

\* \* \*

Charles Frederick Carter of New York writes under date of Jan. 2, 1924: "Glad to see that each number of CURRENT HISTORY is better than any that have gone before. You are doing something that needs to be done and doing it well."

\* \* \*

### From Far-Off New Zealand

A. A. Grace, journalist and author, of Nelson, New Zealand, under date of Nov. 10, 1923, writes to the editor as follows: "CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE continues to be a great delight to me, and

most useful in my journalistic work, since it supplies information which I can obtain nowhere else."

\* \* \*

### Prohibition Enforcement and Civil Service

Santa Barbara, Cal., Dec. 16, 1923.

Editor Current History Magazine:

The two articles in the December number of CURRENT HISTORY from W. D. Foulke, President of the National Civil Service Reform League, and Imogen B. Oakley, Chairman of the Civil Service Division of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, make extremely interesting reading. They both agree that prohibition enforcement is a dismal failure; they both agree that prohibition is the parent of "amazing corruption" in public life. So far they will find themselves in accord with the opinion of the great body of observers of the times. But when they attempt to account for the phenomena by attributing them to the failure of Congress to place the enforcement officers under civil service they are likely to provoke an emphatic, if not violent, dissent. If this were the reason for the failure and corruption of which Mr. Foulke and Mrs. Oakley so justly complain, we might expect to find similar conditions prevailing in the thousands of other appointive offices not under civil service.

Before the civil service laws were ever passed, when every office in the nation was the spoil of the victors in the last election, there was neither a general break-down of law enforcement nor widespread and "amazing corruption." It is easy to blame "the politicians" (including Mr. Wheeler) for the ugly mess. But who are "the politicians"? They are the people who have a taste for and take an active interest in politics. And in so far as they do take an interest and an active part in running politics they are better citizens than those of us who neglect that paramount duty. And just because they do take an active part in politics the politicians always have and always will run the Government. And, by and large, they have always given us a fairly decent, honest and efficient Government until they struck prohibition.

Mr. Wheeler was right in opposing the placing of prohibition enforcement officers under civil service. He knew that the rank and file of the men who win their places under civil service would balk and gag at the duties required of them as prohibition agents. The average decent American has little heart for the job of spying

upon his neighbors. He knew that the one chance for prohibition enforcement lay in placing the administration of the law exclusively in the hands of prohibitionists—"an absolute necessity that enforcement agents be prohibitionists by conviction and in practice!" Mr. Wheeler got that. For four years now the law has been administered by professed prohibitionists, though whether all of them were prohibitionists "by conviction and in practice" seems open to some doubt. Most of the agents I know were either former barkeepers or reformed drunkards. No doubt Mr. Wheeler and his friends, who have taken so controlling a hand in naming these agents, have done the very best that could be done. For they, like the rest of us, must work with humanity as it is and not as it ought to be. Is it not about time that we were using a little common sense and seriously inquiring whether this law of Mohammed is not such a misfit among a people still claiming freedom as a birthright, that nothing less than Turkish failure and corruption could reasonably be expected from it? J. H. COBB,

(Former United States Judge in Alaska.)

\* \* \*

## Military Dominance of France Imperils World Peace

A distinguished American military official, a close student of foreign relations,

*Continued on Following Page*

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## CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLES

Continued from Preceding Page

has written an interesting letter to the Editor with relation to the article by Captain Elbridge Colby, U. S. A., which appeared in the December number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, regarding the weakness of the American Army, as follows:

*Editor Current History Magazine:*

Rail against it as you will, deplore the lack of strategic genius, but the wars of the world are won by man power well organized, by man power, by the number of men who can eventually be placed in the field. It was so that the American Civil War was won. It was so that the Boer War was won. It was so that the Spanish-American War was won. It was so that the World War was won. At the first battle of the Marne the Germans were actually outnumbered on the critical field. During the last four months of the conflict in 1918 the Germans were hopelessly overwhelmed by force of numbers on all fronts.

You will find that the careful devisers of strategic plans for the future have calculated the exact effort of which each country is capable. They will count the regulars under arms, they will count the territorials or militia, they will check off the available reserves, they will estimate the men of good military age, and they will say that Russia and China and the United States have a potential strength of fifteen millions. They will show the power of Britain, of the British Empire, of Germany and Italy and Japan and Spain and Turkey. They will say that man power plus natural economic and financial resources, plus again the ability to organize, will decide the issue; but principally man power, whether the others seem approximately equal or not. In the Russo-Japanese War the Island Empire had the predominance in man power at the beginning and won because Russia was induced to make peace without throwing into the scales her countless millions as yet far from the field of battle. Man power decides the issue when it comes to the test. Other things are necessary, other things are useful, other things are desirable; but in the main, man power wins.

This affects diplomacy of the present as clearly as it has affected diplomacy of the past. We see weakened France demanding that all the world must assist in keeping Germany prostrate and disarmed and unorganized for battle. Why? Because France fears the greater man power across the Rhine! Because France wishes that Teutonic menace of numbers rendered impotent, while she with an efficient organization goes her own way.

Because France wishes to compensate in systematic preparation for what she lacks in man power. Because with such thorough nation-wide military efficiency she can take the field first and in spite of her lower possible enrollment still secure her ends before her opponents have opportunity to prepare in all the complicated and devious ways necessary for a modern war.

The people who argue for adequate national defense in America have a habit of comparing the active army strength of the various countries of the world, and of comparing the ratio of active soldiers to population under the various flags. They speak with force of the disproportionate position of the United States in any such comparison. They point out that the United States exceeds only Germany in regular forces and that in proportion to population the United States is lowest of all. Omitting the navies of the world, on the assumption that naval strengths were set by the Washington treaties, they say that if the three leading countries of the world were ranked in order of wealth, resources and population, they would stand: United States, first; Great Britain, second; and France, third; and then they go on to show that in military and aerial strength the countries stand: France, first; Great Britain, second; and the United States, last. They secure charts like these and place the emphasis of their argument on the position of the United States. This may do well for their purposes, and it is important that citizens should know these things. But suppose we take an international, instead of a national, viewpoint, showing soldiers per thousand population:

### ACTIVE ARMY STRENGTH OF THE RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES PER CAPITA

U. S. ....	1 to 1,000 plus	Japan .....	4 to 1,000
Germany	1 to 1,000 minus	Italy .....	6½ to 1,000
United Kingdom	4 to 1,000	Russia .....	7 to 1,000
France .....	19 to 1,000		

It is immediately apparent that France is armed out of all proportion to her population. There is an approximate balance among the other nations, excepting the United States and Germany, and uncertainly organized Russia. But France has the weapons in her hands!

Now the question which confronts us is whether or not this disproportion is a threat to the "balance of power." Does it not mean that France has fitted herself for combat, that Poincaré at Washington insisted on no limitation of land armaments, because France has desires and designs out of all proportion to her due relative weight?

Let us go back for a moment and read from Frank Taylor's thorough and illuminating book on "The Wars of Marlborough"—read from that

chapter in which, speaking of the state of Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, he made clear what was then understood and felt to be "the exorbitant power of France." He says:

Whenever a Continental State by the absorption of territory, by offensive alliances or by the creation of a species of hegemony or suzerainty over Europe or a part of it, has obtained control of maritime forces of exceptional magnitude, the integrity of the British isles is virtually menaced. \* \* \* Over and over again in modern history this peril has arisen. And sooner or later every disturber of the equilibrium of Europe has collided with the might of England. The foreign policy of England, which it is a kind of tradition on the Continent to represent as dark and tortuous, has always been marked by a severe simplicity. Whoever is planning to establish a dangerous predominance upon the mainland is, for the time being, England's enemy.

There was Philip II, Louis XIV, the first Republic, the first Napoleon, and the last Kaiser. Will the next enemy of England be the Third Republic?

There are those who scoff at the idea, who speak of friendships sealed in blood on the fields of Artois. But there are the plain facts of the history of the foreign policy of England. And there are the equally plain facts as to the present "exorbitant power of France" in military men and in seventy-fives and in fighting planes.

Does the Entente mean nothing? The Entente is a very recent thing, patched together to oppose the growing might of Germany—when England began to see a great competitor for supremacy in maritime forces, when France, after Fashoda, withdrew from her forward position in order to gain an ally against the diplomacy of Berlin and the ordinance of Essen. Indeed, the Entente was as startling a thing as the famous late eighteenth century "reversal of alliances" which brought "l'Autrichienne" to Paris, and, eventually, to the guillotine.

There are definite signs that the Entente means very little. There is the disagreement over the Ruhr. There is the aircraft scare which flooded the Houses of Parliament with excited oratory. There is the Hispanic-Italian friendship and the fright it has aroused in France over naval tonnage in the Mediterranean. There is the French tendency to create and subsidize buffer States, and to finance their military armaments, in place of paying her war debts. There is Poincaré's statement in the Chamber of Deputies that France would act alone if necessary, followed by a vote of confidence carried at a ratio of 506 to 70. There is, furthermore, the continuous and persistent reiteration of the error of the Gallic ways and of the vices of that treaty he had strenuously molded—this by that genial liberal, Mr. Lloyd George. *L'Illustration* of Paris speaks of "*le conflit futur*" as if it were inevitable, and criticizes the British base at Singapore in the following words:

In reality the Washington Conference did nothing for the peace of the world because it

did not settle the question of China, the fundamental cause of the future conflict for political domination and economic conquest of four hundred million beings.

The French are speaking of British military and naval preparations in very much the same words the Germans spoke of them before 1914.

Is there not really a balance of power? And does not the very nation which seeks to dominate Europe and the world by upsetting that balance of power through disproportionate military strength always insist that it is surrounded by a circle of enemies and desires merely its own security and its proper "place in the sun?" These are the facts of history, and these are the words which run through all the literature of excessive nationalistic propaganda. I make no predictions and I make no prophecies, but I feel that there is much truth in the saying of the Englishman who remarked that his country is not accustomed to being frustrated and dictated to by any nation whose potential strength is less than hers. And I really feel that if the Washington conference did nothing permanent for the peace of the world, it was because France refused to sacrifice her growing army as the United States was willing to sacrifice her growing navy.

Washington, D. C.

\* \* \*

## The Mulatto Question

A. E. Morris, General Passenger Agent of the Oklahoma Railway, Oklahoma City, writes to the Editor:

Are the Jews ashamed of Job? And do they detest that great epic of their deliverance from slavery? Must literature and traditions of a people be discounted because that people passed through the worst of hardships and shame? Are we to despise the negro melodies because of the period in which they were born? Seems to me the negro race should be proud of this unique contribution by their people. Yet comes U. S. Poston, in December, and says: "The institution of slavery, which carried with it complete segregation, has had highly injurious effects upon the spiritual life of the negro. It has fastened on him a weird, unintelligent sorrow song called 'folk music.' Its defenders call it the national music of our forefathers and expatiate upon its many virtues, but to the intelligent young negro whom America has to contend with in the future this music is detestable. It has only a very slight African origin or semblance, and is strictly a product of the damnable institution of slavery with its many vices." I hold no brief for slavery; my grandfather died in the cause which ended it. But since when have the traditions of a people in travail become a disgrace to their inheritors? It is a tragedy that the negro, so far, promises such slight development "on his own." It is a pity so many of them are howling for positions that may only be attained through their efforts, no matter how great the handicap. To me it is tragedy for the negro to be ashamed of the traditions of his ancestors when such traditions will remain classic long after the present agitators are forgotten. Take away the spirit of the negro after-slavery folk songs and melodies, and you take away the only classic contribution made by the negro race in America.

## Retain Mulatto's Racial Identity— Develop His Culture

*Editor Current History Magazine:*

Segregation of the negroes, in itself, is not an evil. Our whole existence is a series of segregations. It is the basic principle underlying modern development. The modern city is a mass of segregated areas, specified or implied, both from a business and a residential standpoint. The millionaire lives in a segregated district just as much as the poorest negro, though I admit that their reasons for so doing are by no means the same. The foreign elements of our cities segregate themselves to a large extent without any special racial evils, according to our present standard of judging civilization. There is a human tendency to drift where one will be in contact with his kind. The evil of segregation lies in the conditions under which those segregated by customs or otherwise are forced to live. The negro tenement section of any Southern city is a disgrace to our modern development. In the city where the writer is now stationed the negro tenements are mansions compared with the tenements of the Mexican peons, who are likewise segregated. In every city the poorer classes of whites are segregated in the same manner as the negro. Of course, such conditions of segregation tend to develop the evil in human nature. If the tenement is moved to the most fashionable part of the city, will it make any difference in the tenant? Not until the living conditions of the tenement are changed. The present tenement of the segregated area must be improved, or, better still, destroyed, and others, regulated by law, erected. Decent furnishings must be installed and the surroundings improved. The proper method of combating the evils of segregation as applied to the negro race would seem to be improvement of the conditions surrounding the segregated area. A writer in *CURRENT HISTORY* has suggested a solution in the following words:

If the problem is to be solved, I contend that two homogeneous groups cannot forever live side by side without fusion by intermarriage and that two heterogeneous or dissimilar groups, each with a reasonable amount of intelligence, will not amalgamate.

Let us consider this premise from the facts as they exist today and must continue so to exist as long as the black and white races live in contact. The terms "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" are very inappropriately interchanged by the author. Apart from color, there is a far greater similarity between the mulatto and the black than there is between the mulatto and the white. The hair and facial characteristics such as lips, nose and eyes are prominent in the mulatto, in whose veins there is but a small percentage of negro blood. In fact, it seems a strong attribute of the negro race to transmit physical characteristics

true to type to its offspring. The fact that the mulatto develops in the social atmosphere of the negro home tends to increase the racial qualities. Thus, as the mulatto grows up the barrier of dissimilarity to the white widens in the same proportion as it decreases toward the negro type. Now repeat the premise with the terms "homogeneous" and "heterogeneous" interchanged. Any unbiased consideration of the terms and their usage in the premise then shows that the whole burden of proof for the application above given them rests with the author of the article referred to—and behold what a different aspect it gives to the race problem!

The author's solution of the problem divides itself into three phases, viz.:

1. The amalgamation of the mulatto with the white.
2. Colonization for those who wish to return to Africa.
3. Development of a special negro culture for those who desire to remain in America and retain their racial identity.

The first is based upon a hypothesis entirely false and must so remain so long as man is human. Once amalgamation is given recognition, social or otherwise, it is but a step to the production of more mulattos who must in turn be amalgamated. Thus, there is created an endless chain increasing in size as it revolves from generation to generation. At last, instead of amalgamating the mulatto with the white, there is produced a hybrid race, without a past to which it may point with pride or a future toward which it may look with hope. It must ever remain suspended in the present, fluctuating with the predominance of racial characteristics. Were it possible to control the races to the extent that the present generation would be the last generation of mulattos, the theory of amalgamation would without a doubt be the most feasible solution of the problem. But so long as the races are in contact and human nature remains human it is impossible to eliminate the mulatto.

The colonization of the negro, even if the race may desire it, is not a feasible proposition.

(a) If only those who desire it are colonized the race problem remains.

(b) The colonization of the whole race is not possible because:

1. The expense would be prohibitive.
2. A desirable location is not available, nor is it possible to make one available where the colony might remain under the protection of the United States.
3. It would mean the disruption of the economic life of the nation.
4. Immigrants, no better and in many instances inferior to the American negro, would take their place.

The development of a negro culture with the retention of racial identity is, in the opinion of the writer, the logical solution of the race problem.

FRANCIS M. RICH,  
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